More Danish, More English

Language Policy, Language Use, and Medium of Instruction at a Danish University

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To the memory of my mother, Joan Tanya Hodges,

who would have been very proud.

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Abstract

Universities in Denmark are becoming increasingly internationalized, and are increasingly using English as a language of research, teaching, and administration. At the same time, the Danish language is seen by some as being under threat, and Danish public discourse has focused on what role the Danish language may play in higher education in Denmark. This study investigates both trends through a focus on recently implemented language policies at one Danish university faculty which mandate that graduate instruction be carried out only in English, and undergraduate instruction only in Danish.

This study investigated the decision making process over time in order to reveal how such language policies would be received in one affected department. Interviews with department teaching staff were carried out both before and after the implementation of the decisions, along with interviews of department and faculty level leadership, classroom observations and analysis of written documents. Data was organized using the model provided by Innovation Theory (Henrichsen, 1989), and interpreted using the discursive framework of Nexus Analysis (Scollon & Scollon, 2004).

Analysis showed how case department teaching staff used English and Danish, and how they oriented to the case decisions. Findings indicate a mismatch between top-down policies which do not take into account how language is used on the department level, and an increasingly international department characterized by a predominantly bottom-up approach to determining language use. This research has implications for other institutions which are affected by similar language issues. It adds to existing work on English-medium instruction in higher education, and adds to discussions on domain loss and the language of education in universities.

Resumé

Danske universiteter bliver mere og mere internationaliserede og bruger i stigende grad engelsk til forskning, undervisning og administration. Samtidig er der nogle, der synes, at det danske sprog er truet, og der har i den danske offentlighed længe været fokus på det danske sprogs status inden for forskning og de videregående uddannelser i Danmark. Denne afhandling undersøger disse forhold igennem et fokus på nyligt gennemførte sprogpolitikker på ét dansk universitetsfakultet, sprogpolitikker, der går ud på, at undervisningen på kandidatniveau udelukkende foregår på engelsk henholdsvis på dansk på bachelorniveau.

Denne afhandling har undersøgt beslutningsprocesserne over tid for at afdække, hvordan sådanne sprogpolitiske beslutninger kan modtages på et specifikt institut. Instituttets undervisere blev interviewet både før og efter gennemførelsen af de sprogpolitiske beslutninger, og det samme blev medlemmer af ledelsen på instituts- og fakultetsniveau. Data omfatter endvidere observationer af undervisning og analyse af skriftlige dokumenter. Det indsamlede data blev organiseret ved hjælp af Innovation Teori modellen (Henrichsen, 1989), og fortolket ved hjælp af den diskursive metode, nexusanalyse (Scollon & Scollon, 2004).

Analysen viste, hvordan instituttets undervisere brugte engelsk og dansk på jobbet, og hvordan de orienterede sig i forhold til de sprogpolitiske beslutninger. Resultaterne indikerer et misforhold mellem en top-down politik fra fakultetets side, som ikke tager hensyn til, hvordan sprog konkret bruges på institutniveau, og et stadig mere internationalt institut præget af en overvejende bottom-up-tilgang til sprogbrug. Afhandlingens resultater har implikationer for andre uddannelsesinstitutioner og bidrager til den eksisterende forskning i brugen af engelsk vs. dansk som undervisningssprog på de videregående uddannelser og til diskussionen omkring domænetab og sprogpolitik.

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List of Abbreviations

CLIL Content and Language integrated learning

DU Denmark University

EMI English-medium instruction

InnT Innovation Theory

L1/L2 Native language / Second or foreign language

LPP Language planning and policy

NA Nexus Analysis

TA Teaching assistant

Chapter 1:
Introduction

English is increasingly being used as a language of communication in higher education in parts of the world where it is not the local language. Along with this increase, a great deal of work has been undertaken investigating how the use of English in higher education in non-English speaking countries affects teachers, learners, and policies (for example, Airey, 2009; Hellekjær, 2010; Saarinen & Nikula, 2013), especially in those countries where English is neither a local language nor a colonial one (those countries referred to as the "expanding circle" by Kachru, 2015 [1985], p. 154-6). For example, in relation to teaching, it has been shown that English-medium instruction (EMI) poses linguistic challenges for non-L1 English speaking instructors (Thøgersen & Airey, 2011; Vinke, 1995), and that such teachers may be reluctant to move towards EMI teaching (Tange, 2010). At the same time, many instructors, especially in Northern European higher education contexts, feel that they are capable of teaching in English as a non-L1 in an effective way where their identity as a teacher is maintained (Kling Soren, 2013).

In contrast to the growing literature on the EMI situation, which explores the effects of switching classroom instruction to English, there is a lack of research on the effects of maintaining classroom instruction in local languages, or on switching instruction away from English. However, such situations do exist, and have been reported on in the popular press. For example, a recent news article focused on negative reactions to language laws requiring courses to be offered in Dutch in universities in the Netherlands ("Language laws repress many universities in Europe", 2015). In a Canadian context, French-language requirements for foreign staff recruited to work in Quebecois universities have received similar negative reactions (Valiante, 2015). More systematic research is needed into the effects of these

switches on teachers, students, and policy makers, both as a phenomenon on its own terms and in comparison to EMI research. To the extent that switching instruction towards English might cause difficulties, it might be expected that shifting away from English towards a local language in the classroom would then be perceived as less problematic. At the same time, negative reactions reported in the above articles might indicate that shifting away from English is problematic as well. Neither of these possibilities can be assumed without specific investigation.

This study sets out to fill these gaps in the literature through an investigation of a set of policy decisions taken by the science faculty of one Danish university mandating that instruction be carried out solely in English at the graduate level and only in the local language, Danish, at the undergraduate level. Insofar as these decisions relate both to the presence of EMI and to new situations where EMI is not the final word, an investigation will contribute to the existing body of research on language policy as it relates to language of instruction, both when moving towards more English and when moving towards less.

This study focused on one case department within the science faculty which was affected by the decisions. It investigated how decisions mandating language of instruction in either English or Danish were carried out and received by teaching staff in the case department. It also looked at how teaching staff oriented towards teaching both in English and in Danish in order to better understand how policy decisions related to language shift were initially received by the teachers tasked with implementing and enforcing those decisions. The common thread throughout the thesis was the set of language policy decisions. Understanding these local decisions, taken by one faculty at one university, may contribute to greater understanding of both trends towards EMI and moves towards protection of local languages that are occurring on larger scales in Northern Europe, as well as other places in Europe and elsewhere in the world.

1.1 Research Questions

The goal of the present study was to examine language policy and language of instruction at a Danish university, as seen in one set of policy decisions and its effect on one department (hereafter called the case department). The research presented here has been organized around four main research questions.

The first two questions related to language use in the case department. One key factor of interest was the timing. Specifically, data was collected in the semester before the decisions went into effect (although after they had been announced) and in the year after implementation of the decisions. This gave the opportunity to view a decision-making process as it happened, something which has not often been done in the language policy and planning (LPP) literature. In particular, data was collected, in the form of interviews, both before and after implementation, including data related to language use. The first two research questions arose from this.

1) How did department teaching staff report using English and Danish in work situations outside of the classroom before and after the implementation of the case decisions?

2) How did teaching staff and students report using English and Danish in classroom situations before and after the implementation of the case decisions?

Another key factor of interest to this study is the way the case department functioned both on its own and as part of the larger unit of the faculty. This factor is reflected in the remaining questions. They ask about decision making at the faculty department level, as well as about the relationship between expectations of teaching staff in regards to the decisions, and to the effects of those decisions.

3) How were decisions related to language of instruction made at the faculty level, and at the department level, and how did the two levels influence each other?

4) How did teaching staff expectations with respect to the case decisions relate to how the decisions were implemented in the department?

In order to contextualize the case decisions, an overview will next be given of internationalization and the growth of English in a Danish university context (section 1.2). This will be followed by a consideration of what factors favor the use of English or Danish as a medium of instruction in Danish universities (section 1.3). The case decisions will then be described in section 1.4, with the significance of this research given in section 1.5. A final section will present an overview of the dissertation as a whole (section 1.6).

1.2 Internationalization in Danish Universities

The move towards internationalization in universities is present in Denmark as much as it is in other parts of Europe and elsewhere. The same can be said for the growth of English in universities. While equating internationalization specifically to the growth of English is problematic (a point which will be taken up further in section 2.2), I use figures on the use of English in Danish higher education as one marker for the presence of non-Danish speakers in university environments. In other words, I am looking at the extent to which Danish universities are increasingly non-Danish and, at the same time, are using more English both in and out of the classroom. The processes involved in these shifts have been referred to as globalization (as in Coleman, 2006), but will be referred to here as internationalization (following Teichler, 2009, for whom internationalization involves

"increasing cross-border activities amidst persistence of borders" as opposed to a blurring of borders involved with globalization). The internationalization which exists in the case department is also present at Danish universities more generally. As will be seen, the level of internationalization, as measured by the level of English, is higher in some areas than in others; however, it is high enough in all areas to cause some shift towards a greater use of English.

One recent report set out to quantify internationalization in Denmark's eight universities (Hultgren, 2013b). Hultgren's specific remit was to measure the extent of English and Danish usage in three areas: the percentage of non-Danish students and employees, teaching, and publishing. These areas in themselves cannot directly measure an abstract concept such as "internationalization". However, much research in the areas of internationalization and of English medium instruction has shown that the two concepts seem to be inextricably tied together, with "'internationalization' often resulting in 'Englishization'" (Kirkpatrick, 2011). Larsen (2013, p. 3) similarly refers to the "twin pillars of student mobility and English-medium instruction". This would imply that levels of English in teaching and publishing, along with more specific measures of numbers of international students and staff, can give a reasonably clear picture of the extent to which Danish universities are internationalized. All numbers in this section are taken from Hultgren (2013b) unless otherwise noted, as these are the most up-to-date cross-university figures currently available.

In terms of percentages of international students and staff, the majority of both are Danish; however, a significant minority of non-Danes exists for both categories (p. 9-10). For students across all eight universities in Denmark, 16% come from outside Denmark. This includes both short-term exchange and full-program students. In particular for the sciences, the percentage of exchange students is approximately 6% of the total, with full degree

students more commonly studying other subject areas (particularly within the health sciences). For newly employed staff (as of the 2013 report), approximately 18% overall were foreign, with the percentage for the sciences reaching over a quarter of all new employees. Information is not given for long-term employees; Hultgren speculates that overall percentages will be lower as "goal-directed international recruiting is a relatively new phenomenon" (2013b, p. 10, my translation). For a department like the case department, which included a large number of international staff (in particular at the postdoctoral (hereafter postdoc) level), one effect is that Danish has ceased to sufficiently serve all the communicative needs that employees had. Instead, it was necessary in certain situations to rely on English as the only common language, the lingua franca.

For the language of instruction, 20% of all programs were offered in English. Again, there was a difference between faculties. The sciences had the largest number of programs offered in English, at 80 programs. A big difference could also be found between undergraduate and master's level programs, with 26% of all master's (*kandidat* in Danish) programs in English against only 6% of programs at the undergraduate level (p. 10-11). It is not clear in this case whether the percentage of programs counted just those officially given in English. For example, there are departments in Danish universities which would consider their master's degree programs to be offered in Danish; however, in reality, many individual classes would have been offered in English within those ostensibly Danish programs. This was also the case in the case department.

English though, is not just found inside the Danish universities, and when communicating with non-Danish speaking colleagues and students. The number of publications in English as opposed to Danish reflects larger conversations that are going on between university staff in communication with regional and global research communities. As for the language used for publishing in Danish universities, the vast majority of all

publications, 83%, are published in English (as opposed to 15% in Danish, with a mere 2% in other languages). In the sciences (where the case department is located), the figure is even higher, over 90% (p.9).

So, to summarize, Danish higher education, as indirectly measured through levels of English use and as more directly measured through student and faculty composition, is international. Moreover, trends towards new employee hiring indicate that internationalization will increase over time. Moreover, departments such as the case department, which are in science areas, are more internationalized than the average for all departments. This makes the case decisions, to formalize the language of instruction towards English, or towards Danish, relevant for understanding the effects of language mandates at a time when the staff composition of university departments in Denmark is changing in a way which would seem to favor the greater use of English, with a concomitant decrease in the use of Danish. The increase in English has become a contentious issue, as will be seen in the next section.

1.3 Drivers towards English or Danish as a medium of instruction

In order to set the case decisions in context, it is necessary to consider the drivers which have led to a greater use of English and EMI in institutions such as DU as well as drivers which have led to moves away from EMI towards Danish-medium instruction or towards maintaining already existing Danish-medium instruction. Drivers towards EMI are discussed using the categories set up by Hultgren, Jensen, and Dimova (2015, p. 6). They recognize five different levels at which such drivers may be found: global, European, national, institutional, and classroom. Drivers towards Danish-medium instruction are

constructed in relation both to the EMI categories, but also to Danish political factors which have influenced attitudes towards the use of Danish in higher education.

On a global level, perceptions of higher education have changed "from a public good to a private one, a commodity that can be traded" (Tilak, 2008, p. 462). At the European level, initiatives such as those set up by the Bologna Process follow the same trends as at the global level, with the resulting European Higher Education Area being "in effect, a market" (Phillipson, 2015, p. 27). At both global and European levels, commodification has led to a need for universities to attract foreign students (Coleman, 2006, Wächter, 2008), and to market themselves through international ranking lists (Hultgren, 2014b, Auken, 2011), both factors which would seem to favor an increase in Englishization, and to disfavor any focus on local languages, in other words to favor EMI and to disfavor Danish-medium instruction.

At the national level as well, in Denmark there are clear drivers for EMI. For example, government policies lead to international recruitment, also in universities (Hultgren, 2014a). At the same time, drivers towards Danish-medium instruction also start to be seen here. For example, parallel language use, a language policy approach which gives balanced importance both to local languages and English, has been proposed by the Danish Ministry of Culture (e.g. Kulturministeriet, 2004, 2008), a main goal of which is the protecting of Danish in relation to English (Hultgren 2014a, p. 82; Thøgersen, 2010).

That the discussion at the national level shows trends towards both English and Danish as languages of instruction in higher education can be exemplified in one recent political example. In February 2015, the right-wing Danish People's Party (DF) presented a pre-election proposal to ban courses being taught in English in Danish higher education ("DF: Luk uddanelsen på engelsk", 2013, my translation), with the reasoning that teaching content courses in English (outside of those given by English-language departments) was said to "make no sense" apart from the occasional "guest lecturer" who might lecture in English.

This would seem in keeping with policies aimed at strengthening Danish. It also echoes fears that exist at a national level with domain loss, with English taking over Danish either in some domains or even in total (e.g. Haberland, 2005, Hultgren, 2011).

A response from an opposing party (in the same news article, my translation) gave the market-based argument that "it makes no sense to close ourselves off. The fact that Danes speak foreign languages generates revenue for Denmark". In this response can be seen the influence of drivers at the European and global levels, where the university has become a business, and of national trends towards international hiring. As well as reflecting different level influences, this political argument can also be seen as a concise summing up of the contentious role that English is seen to be playing in the country (as more deeply explored by, for example, Preisler, 2005, 1999). On the one hand, the local language of Denmark is Danish, so it should be possible to use Danish in all situations. On the other hand, Denmark is but one country in a much larger world in which the English language has gained increasing influence, including in the university classroom.

At the institutional level, the concept of parallel language use, in contrast with how it is viewed at the national level, is often turned around so that it refers to the availability of English alongside Danish (Hultgren, 2014a, Thøgersen, 2010). At the same time, policy documents put out by Danish universities (overviewed in Hultgren 2013b) in a majority of cases refer to the ways in which they have a "double role as national and international actors" who "focus on internationalization" (which implies a need for more English) and "maintain Danish as an academic language" (which implies a need for more Danish) (p. 50, my translations). Meeting both of these goals requires then the use of both languages, for example in the classroom.

At the classroom level, research has focused on the effects of using English for a variety of stakeholders: Danish students who are expected to learn in it (Didriksen, 2009;

Mortensen, 2010) and Danish teachers who are expected to teach in it (Jakobsen, 2010; Kling Soren, 2013; Kling, 2015; Tange, 2010). Teaching of university subjects in English has also led to discussions around domain loss as at the national level. Danish-medium instruction has not received the same focus (with exceptions, e.g. Olsen, 2012).

To sum up, because of the influence of EMI and Danish-medium instruction drivers in particular at the global and European levels, together with drivers towards Danish-medium instruction at the national level and below, institutions perceive a need to have instruction both in Danish and in English. The case decisions which are the focus of this monograph reflect this need for balance by mandating both the use of English and also towards the use of Danish in Danish university classrooms.

1.4 The Case Decisions

The case decisions at the heart of this dissertation were taken by the Faculty of Science at Denmark University (hereafter DU), an anonymized large Danish university. Documents relating to the decisions show that they were announced in Autumn, 2012 and projected to go into effect starting in Autumn, 2013; they consisted of two main parts. The first part strengthened previous rules at DU mandating that the examination language had to be the same as the language of instruction; that is, a student taking a course in Danish would be required to be evaluated in Danish, while students in EMI courses would necessarily be evaluated in English. The second part (which could be seen to be arising from the first) mandated that undergraduate level instruction be given through Danish while graduate level instruction had to be carried out in English. These decisions will be discussed from the standpoint of the case department, highlighting the differences and similarities between the case decisions and previous policy (either explicit or de facto) at the case department.

Before going into the decisions in depth, it is necessary to give some brief background information about the language situation in Denmark, as well as about how university courses are set up, and how they are typically examined. In terms of the language situation in Denmark more generally, although there is no legally mandated official language (Kirchmeier, 2008), the dominant language of Denmark (a Scandinavian country of approximately 5.6 million people) is Danish. However, as is the case in other countries in the region, English also plays a strong role in the country, generally and in education. While the value of English as a language of instruction can be (and as the previous anecdote shows, is being) debated, it is not widely contested that the English language also has a part to play in Danish education to at least some extent at all levels. The age at which Danish children start to receive English language lessons as part of their schooling has recently been lowered from third grade (when children are around nine years old) to first grade (when they are around seven) (Undervisningsministeriet, 2013). Furthermore, Danes are expected to become conversant in the English language via schooling to the point where they can interact with the global community, particularly in business as well as for more personal communication such as during holiday travel outside of Denmark (despite the fact that at least 20% of Danes are not able to function to this level; Preisler, 1999, p. 98). This can be seen by the assumption, even by the party trying to limit English in Danish universities, DF, that Danish students are able to function in English to the level necessary to learn from "guest lecturers" even if not taking full courses in English.

Starting previous to the Bologna Process, but in accordance with it, the higher education system in Denmark has been arranged in what can be called a 3/2 system (Rasmussen, 2009); that is, students have three years of undergraduate courses directed towards a particular major subject, which is followed by two additional years leading to a *kandidat* degree (roughly equivalent to a master's degree in the American or British system).

Although this might be changing, it is currently expected that most students who start an undergraduate course will continue for the full five years, and continuing from undergraduate to graduate is automatic in almost all cases. This is to say that following the case decisions, a student starting their studies in the case department would first take three years of coursework in Danish, followed by two years of coursework in English. This means that a typical student starting a degree course in the case study department will be affected by both the undergraduate and graduate case decisions.

There is not a standardized system of evaluation either in Danish universities generally or in the particular case department. However, some typical forms of evaluation are found. The one which is the most specifically Danish, and which emerged as relevant as teaching staff discussed the case decisions, is the oral exam. Starting in secondary school (and in some cases, in primary school), and in most if not all subjects, students (either individually or in 2-3 person work groups) as part of their course evaluation have to present or discuss topics related to that course. This takes place in front of the course instructor and an external examiner, with feedback and evaluation (including the course grade) given on the spot. Folk wisdom views this process as being stressful for the students being examined. This, along with other evaluation tools such as written assignments, are affected by the case decisions as it makes the language used for these tools course dependent; that is, a student taking a course in English could only sit an oral exam or write a written assignment for that course in English, with a student taking a course in Danish being equally constrained.

As noted above, for undergraduate education (which in a Danish context would typically consist of the first three years of a five-year degree), it is mandatory that all courses be taught in Danish. This would be in contrast with previous department policy, in which the first year was mandated to be in Danish, with second and third year being more flexible with regards to language. General practice previously in the department was that courses at these

levels would normally be taught in Danish, but could be switched to English to accommodate non-Danish speaking teachers or students. The case decisions did not cover materials used in the classroom, such as textbooks, meaning that a course given in Danish could make use for example of English language textbooks or course notes. They did mandate that assignments and examinations be in the same language as the course; that is, a student taking a course in Danish would be expected to complete all assignments and to sit all examinations in Danish. This is in contrast to previous department policy in which the language of assignments and examinations could be decided by teachers and students in individual courses, without need for a match with the language of instruction.

At the same time as undergraduate teaching was mandated to be given in Danish, the case decisions required courses at the graduate level to be given in English, in particular for the final two years of the typical five years of university study, which end with the awarding of the *kandidat* degree. This part of the decisions was to some extent in keeping with previous policy at the case department, where the presence of non-Danish speaking teaching staff, in particular at the postdoc level, and students meant that courses at this level were often given in English. It did however have the effect of forcing a shift to English in situations where students and teacher all spoke Danish, which in the past could have led to a course being given in Danish. At this level, the decisions mandated that teaching materials such as textbooks also be in English, and that the language of assignments and of examinations was to be in English in order to match the language of instruction.

By acting to mandate the increased use of Danish as a language of instruction at some levels of study, while at the same time acting to increase the use of English at other levels of study, the case decisions serve to reflect both sides of the political arguments regarding the value (financial or otherwise) of each of these languages as languages of instruction. In this

way, analyzing the effects of the decisions can shed light on larger issues of language in higher education, both in Denmark and elsewhere.

As will be seen, the case decisions did not radically change the language of instruction within the case department; both Danish and English had been used for teaching before the decisions, and both would continue to be used in the classroom after the decisions. However, the decisions did serve to formalize the language of instruction in ways which would, in practice, change the language in which certain courses would be taught or students evaluated.

1.5 Significance of Study

The forces being described in this dissertation are not unique to Denmark or to Danish universities; universities all over the world, particularly but not only in Europe, are becoming increasingly internationalized (Coleman, 2006). Internationalization brings with it increased numbers of non-local students (in Europe, this trend has been strengthened due to exchange programs such as Erasmus; Wächter, 2008), as well as non-local researchers. This increase in non-local members of university communities brings about a need for a common language other than the local one, which in most cases, including the Danish case, means more English, as the language of research, but also increasingly as the language of instruction. Policy decisions such as the case decisions can be viewed as a response to these trends.

By focusing on one particular set of decisions taken at a local faculty level, the research presented in this dissertation explores conflicting tensions, between emphasizing the protection and strengthening of the use of Danish on the one hand, and strengthening and expanding the use of English on the other. This study looks at a single case; however, this case involves language policy processes which can be related to other similar policy practices

elsewhere. In this way, findings here serve also to shed light on similar tensions found in other places in Europe and elsewhere where the role of English and the role of local languages are being discussed.

My aim with this research was to uncover language policy practices at the faculty and department level, as well as teaching staff expectations towards certain decisions affecting language of instruction. I also wished to follow a decision-making process through multiple stages, in order to uncover what factors might lead to acceptance or rejection, and to explore how proposed changes to the language of instruction would manifest in an international university setting such as DU. An additional aim was to make connections between what was happening in the case department and what was happening on a larger scale. In this I follow the example of Lane (2010, p. 63) who explores "how large-scale discourses such as the language policies become internalized and later materialized in action through language choice". In this study, a similar goal to Lane's was to view larger discourses of language policy (both explicit and implicit) at the faculty, in Danish society, and in the case field and academia more generally in order to show how these "become internalized and later materialized in action through language choice".

The research questions which guide the study are specific and grounded in the case department and the decisions in focus. However, as already expressed, what makes the decisions interesting and an appropriate area for research is not just what they say about one specific set of decisions in relation to one local science department at one Danish university. Rather they are interesting insofar as they are reflective of larger issues. In particular, the focus of this study on policy processes and how stakeholders encounter and relate to such policies can reveal how decisions related to language of instruction are handled on the ground, and how such bottom-up decision-making might come to be in conflict with top-down language policy decisions. This has implications for language policy and language use

in academia in other places in the world where English is not the local language (or not the main local language) and where internationalized universities using English as a medium of workplace communication and classroom teaching can be found or are likely to be found in the future.

1.6 Dissertation Outline

This dissertation consists of eight chapters. Chapter 1 has set the scene into which the decisions under study have been made. Research questions have been set out, and the purpose of the study has been presented.

Chapter 2 reviews relevant literature in four main areas. The first is an overview of language policy and planning, as it applies to educational and more general settings. This is followed by sections on the effects of internationalization in higher education, particularly in the Nordic region and elsewhere in Europe. Mobility by both students and researchers receives particular focus in this section. Next comes an overview of research into English-medium instruction (EMI) and the role of English in the sciences and academia more generally. On a more local level, literature on the effects that English is perceived to have on Danish, specifically in relation to domain loss, and on parallel language use as one reaction to these perceived effects, is cited in the following section. The final section summarizes and suggests how this study fits into and can contribute to these different literature areas.

Chapter 3 gives an overview of the two theoretical frameworks being used. Nexus Analysis has been used as it offers a framework for connecting what happens at the case department level with larger cycles of discourse happening elsewhere. Innovation Theory has been used to operationalize the specific process of the case decisions. The chapter aims to

orient the reader to these two very different frameworks by explicating the models that each one uses, and showing how they are used together in the present study.

Chapter 4 starts by exploring how the two theoretical frameworks can be approached methodologically. It then gives an overview of the research design and the process of data collection and analysis. A brief overview of the analytical coding procedures and findings are also given, as well as a discussion of researcher positioning, ethical considerations, and validity and reliability.

Chapters 5, 6, 7, and 8 are thematic chapters, combining results and discussion which emerged from data analysis. Chapter 5 overviews language use in the department prior to the onset of the case decisions, focusing specifically on language use in the department outside of the classroom, for example in meetings. Analysis reveals how employment status and Danish language proficiency combine to determine membership status in the case department.

Chapter 6 overviews language use prior to the onset of the case decisions, focusing on language use inside the classroom, in lectures or in exercise sessions. This includes analysis of key features of teaching within the case department, and on the system for assigning teachers to courses. After this, the use of Danish and English in the classroom and in post-graduate research is looked at, revealing how the use of each language changes along the progression from lower-level to higher-level instruction in the department.

While chapters 5 and 6 focus on the period before the implementation of the case decisions, chapter 7 focuses on the decisions themselves: how they were perceived by the faculty which issued them, as well as on how they tie into previously existing policy in the department. Differences in perceived decision making by both faculty and department are analyzed in order to shed light on the effectiveness of top-down versus bottom-up language policy in relation to language of instruction.

Chapter 8 shifts focus to the period after implementation of the case decisions, and it is divided into two parts. The first part examines possible outcomes of the case decisions, that is, the extent to which they might be expected to undergo acceptance or rejection by the case department. The second part explores trends which have led to the department having the composition, and by extension the potential language tensions, that it has, in order to tie these trends to the future of decisions related to language of instruction more generally.

Chapter 9 summarizes the main issues in order to provide answers to the research questions. The main contributions of this research are set out, and possibilities for future research are suggested.

Chapter 2:
Language Planning and Policy and the Growth of English in European Higher Education

This PhD study investigates language planning and policy, with specific focus on a set of language policy decisions taken by one Danish university faculty and, in particular, how these decisions affected one department in the faculty. Special attention is given to how the policy interrelated with medium of instruction as well as to language practices in the case department, both before and after implementation of the decisions. The study fully explores the discursive-historical trajectory of the policies, the planning, and the practices and, in so doing, fully deconstructs the case decisions made by the Faculty of Science at DU and its interplay with one case department within the faculty. First, however, it is necessary to contextualize the case within existing research in several relevant fields.

Four areas of literature are reviewed. While these literature areas might seem disparate at first glance, they are held together by common threads. The first thread is language policy in higher education. This is looked at on a global level, then a European one, and then finally in a Nordic level. More specifically, the literature covered here all relates in some way to the role of English in the world and to the tension which exists in many settings, including educational ones, between the use of English and the use of languages other than English.

The first area reviewed is language planning and policy, often referred to as LPP. This section opens with an overview of key concepts in this wide field in general which are most relevant to the study. After this some consideration is given to LPP in higher education, followed by a subsection on LPP and medium of instruction. This provides the background needed to contextualize the case decisions in relation to LPP more generally, and educational LPP more specifically.

The next two literature areas focus on the growth of English in European higher education. The first of these two areas covers the internationalization of European higher education, in particular of the growth of mobility in a European context, both for students (via exchange programs) and for researchers (particularly but not only at the postdoctoral level). The second of these two areas deals with English medium instruction (EMI), focusing on its effects on teachers and on students, relying primarily, though not exclusively, on studies carried out in a Nordic context and in Northern Europe.

The final literature area relates to two topics of particular salience in the Nordic region: "domain loss" refers to the (real or potential) effect of English and "parallel language use" denotes a starting point for language planning which is a response to the (real or potential) threat of English to local languages. A concluding section ties the different research strands together, and delineates how the present study fits into and adds to existing knowledge in these areas.

2.1 Language Planning and Policy in Higher Education

This study contributes primarily to the field of language planning and policy (LPP) in relation to higher education, particularly in a Nordic or Northern European context. The review of the relevant research is divided into three parts. The first presents key concepts in language policy and planning which are relevant for understanding the process as it has been carried out in the case department. A second section focuses further on the application of LPP in educational settings, specifically in higher education in Northern Europe, followed by a third section looking at medium of instruction and LPP.

2.1.1 Key Terms and Distinctions in Language Planning and Policy

In order to talk about LPP in connection with this study, it is first necessary to establish what is meant by language planning, what is meant by language policy, and what is meant by joining the two terms into one abbreviation, LPP. Different researchers have presented differing, and sometimes conflicting, definitions of each. This section highlights the work most relevant to the current study, which leads to the key definitions to be used throughout the dissertation. After this, an overview is given of specific types of language planning which are of relevance to this study.

The term language planning is generally credited to Haugen (1959), who defined it as

> the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogenous speech community. In this practical application of linguistic knowledge, we are proceeding beyond descriptive linguistics into an area where judgment must be exercised in the form of choices among available linguistic forms. (p. 8)

Over time, the term has broadened to encompass other types of planning but, as Hornberger (2006, p. 26) points out, the idea of going beyond description to judgment has been, and still is, important for language planning efforts. In this study, language planning is used largely to refer to various specific types of planning which are found in the literature and which are discussed below.

Like language planning, language policy has been defined in different ways, also in its relation to language planning (reviewed in Johnson, 2013; Xu, 2012). For this study, language policy is influenced by Spolsky (2004, 2009, 2012) who breaks the concept down

into three components: language practices, language beliefs, and language management (also called language planning). By language practices, Spolsky (2012) asks:

> what variety do [members of the speech community] use for each of the communicative functions they recognize, what variants do they use with various interlocutors, what rules do they agree for speech and silence, for dealing with common topics, for expressing or concealing identity. (p. 5)

In this study, interview data has served to highlight the language practices of teaching staff which are primarily analyzed in Chapter 5 (for work situations out of the classroom) and 6 (for language practices inside the classroom). Language beliefs refer to the values or ideologies which participants have about the languages that they use. In Spolsky's (2012) formulation, language beliefs are "formed in large measure by [language practices] and [confirm their] influence". (p. 5) This can be viewed also in the interview data, where the way in which language practices are framed by interviewees gives insight into how they view Danish and English. The final element, language management, fits more closely with everyday definitions of "policy" as being where members of a community intentionally set out to influence or change language practices, for example through regulation. Earlier views of language planning can also be seen as instances of language management. The case decisions, which mandated certain language practices in the classroom, also fall into this category.

Spolsky's three-part definition of language policy stipulates that it can be clearly intentional, as with language management, or it might not be intentional, as with language practices and language beliefs. Johnson (2013), in his definition of language policy (as a synthesis of several other definitions given by others over time) makes this distinction clearer

by including within the term language policy both "official regulations - often enacted in the form of written documents, intended to effect some change in the form, function, use, or acquisition of language", which would encompass language management, and "unofficial, covert, de facto, and implicit mechanisms, connected to language beliefs and practices" (p. 9). In other words, the term language policy encompasses both de jure and de facto policy mechanisms.

The distinction between official and unofficial here is especially relevant as, for example, when official policy decisions taken by the faculty are contrasted with unofficial practices within the case department. This also makes salient the possibility for policy to be top-down, for example from a faculty to a department, or bottom-up, when the individual members of a department create de facto practices which then are adopted by the department as a whole but not necessarily filtered up to higher levels. Although both top-down and bottom-up policies are worthy of study, this research will additionally focus on the level where top-down and bottom-up policies meet, that is to say, how top-down policies are received and interpreted by individual stakeholders operating in a bottom-up way.

Language planning in the definitions given above becomes subsumed into language policy as a part of language management. For this reason, Spolsky (2012, p. 5) chooses to call the whole field "language policy". Others (for example Hornberger, 2006; Johnson, 2013) combine the two terms together into the composite term "language planning and policy", or LPP. I will refer to the field as a whole as LPP, using language policy to refer to top-down "de jure" mandates found in official policy from the university and faculty. I will refer to language planning to discuss how the mandates are carried out, including language practices which may or may not be affected by official policy. I will also use the term language planning to refer to specific types of planning which have emerged in the literature as part of

the development of the field of LPP: status planning, corpus planning, acquisition planning, prestige planning, and discourse planning.

An early distinction in the literature contrasted status planning and corpus planning (Kloss, 1969). In Kloss's formulation status planning is "primarily interested in the status of the language whether it is satisfactory as it is or whether it should be lowered or raised." (p. 81) In practice, this refers to which language or languages gain official status in a given domain, such as in the judicial system or in educational institutions. In the present study, the determination of which languages serve as language of instruction involves status-planning decisions. Parallel language use (further described in 2.4.2), in which two languages are seen as having equal status in given domains, may also be seen as a type of status planning.

Corpus planning according to Kloss (1969, p. 81) is used when "some agency, person, or persons are trying to change the shape or the corpus of a language by proposing or prescribing the introducing of new technical terms, changes in spelling, or the adoption of a new script". Corpus planning is, in this way, a more linguistic endeavor which also encompasses modernization and standardization. This is the type of planning which is closest to Haugen's (1959, p. 8) understanding of language planning as involving tools such as dictionaries for guiding writers and speakers. While no one in the case department was compiling a dictionary, corpus planning is relevant for discussions regarding the status of Danish as a language of the case field. Efforts to maintain domain-specific terminology in the case department, in particular against the perceived threat of English, would fall in the corpus-planning category.

The third primary type of planning is acquisition planning, first put forth by Cooper (1989). This refers to planning and support for language training. According to Cooper (1989, p. 159), this can be done with different goals in mind: the learning of a second or foreign language, the reacquisition of a language by a population of people (for example, bringing

back Hebrew as a modern vernacular), or the maintenance of a language. In the case of Danish, acquisition planning can be found in programs to teach Danish to immigrants to the country, which would be the first of Cooper's goals. Such programs also play a role in the case department, in particular to enable temporary staff in the department to gain some level of Danish proficiency.

While status, corpus, and acquisition planning are the most prominent types of language planning (as reviewed, for example, in Hornberger, 2006; Johnson, 2013), they are not the only types of planning discussed in the literature. In particular, two additional types of planning are also of relevance to the current study. The first is prestige planning (Haarmann, 1990). This is seen as forming a triad with status and corpus planning (Haarmann, 1990), and also as a prerequisite to both status and corpus planning, as exemplified by "cases of planning where the failure of corpus- and status-related efforts is due to a lack of prestige" of the target languages (p. 105). When considering, for example, the prestige value of English in comparison to the Scandinavian languages, prestige planning could turn out to be an important factor (Hult, 2005). Haarmann does not mention acquisition planning, but an obvious connection can be made between it and prestige planning. Again, for the Scandinavian languages, a focus on prestige planning could lead to more successful acquisition planning, for example, for foreign language teaching to members of university communities who are not fluent in the local languages.

Along with prestige planning, discourse planning is also relevant to this study. Discourse planning is conceptualized by Lo Bianco (2005) as being found at the intersection of planning and ideology, with the examples given of propaganda and advertising (Lo Bianco, 2005, p. 261). He questions whether this type of planning is indeed planning, as it often takes place on an implicit level. Hult (2010b, p. 174) applies discourse planning to the languages found in Swedish television programming, using it to connect discourses in

Swedish society surrounding different languages and the amount of television programing found in those languages (languages seen as more prestigious get more airtime, those considered less prestigious get less). He connects discourse planning with prestige planning, in that one can be used to affect the other.

2.1.2 LPP in Higher Education

In addition to looking at LPP more generally, it is necessary to overview the literature regarding LPP in higher education settings. In considering the higher education domain and its connection to LPP, certain key issues will be touched upon, namely, language education policy as a mechanism for larger policy imposition (Shohamy, 2006), micro language planning (Baldauf, 2006), and the varying role of teachers in relation to policy (Shohamy, 2006; Hult, 2014). A final key area of LPP in higher education relates to language of instruction policies in Nordic contexts, in particular in relation to the use of English as a language of instruction, and is addressed in the following subsection.

In the work of Shohamy (2006), language policy is marked by "mechanisms" which are "overt and covert (i.e. hidden) devices used as means of affecting, creating and perpetuating language practices, hence, de facto LPs" (p. 57) which are encountered, in addition to more formalized and explicit language policy as found, for example, in policy documents. In order to understand the true language policy inherent in a particular language setting, it is thus important to consider these mechanisms. This can be seen as, and is presented (Shohamy, 2006, p. 52) as "an expanded view" of Spolsky's (2004, 2009, 2012) three-part understanding of language policy.

Of the specific mechanisms elaborated by Shohamy, that of greatest relevance to the higher education setting is language education policy (LEP). This mechanism is used to refer

to issues such as what languages to teach, for how long, and starting at what age - or, for the case department, starting at what point in the university program of study (Shohamy, 2006, p. 76). LEP can be top-down; it can also be covert, which is to say hidden in "a variety of de facto practices" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 77). In this case, Shohamy recommends looking at "textbooks, teaching practices and especially testing systems" to uncover LEPs. In the case department, both explicit (or de jure) policy and de facto practices can be used to uncover sometimes conflicting policy aims.

One way of addressing the complexities of LPP in higher education (and indeed of LPP in general) is to look at scales. While LPP takes place at the macro-level, micro-level, and in-between, recent work has started to focus in particular on micro language planning (e.g. Baldauf, 2006; Liddicoat & Taylor-Leech, 2014). Micro language planning can refer to de facto policy developed at the micro-level, but of more relevance to this study can refer to the micro-level or local level implementation of policies instituted at more macro levels. In analyzing these situations, Baldauf makes a case for the importance of agency in stakeholders at different levels.

Micro level agents of relevance to my study are members of teaching staff. In discussing LPP in contexts of higher education, the role of the teacher is particularly salient. As pointed out by Hult (2014), it is the teacher who is "on the front line of language policy since the classroom is a key site where policies become action" (p. 159). Shohamy (2006, p. 78) refers to teachers as "soldiers of the system". At the same time, the process of teachers implementing policy on the micro scale makes room for the subversion of policy through bottom-up resistance inside the classroom (as described by, for example, Cincotta-Segi, 2011). In the case department as well, teachers interact with policy decisions in ways which can result in either implementation or resistance.

2.1.3 Language Policy and Medium of Instruction

In addition to discussing language policy concepts generally, and the connection between language policy and higher education, this section will narrow down further to look at language policy and medium of instruction, particularly but not only with regards to the Nordic region. As further discussed in the following sections, LPP in institutions such as DU are influenced by greater internationalization and mobility, and the resulting increase in English. This subsection thus looks at research focusing on how language policy functions in increasingly internationalized university environments. Also discussed here, and arising from this, has been particular focus on how conceptions of the English native speaker (in itself a problematic concept, as discussed in more depth by Hackert, 2012; Cook, 1999; Widdowson,1994, and others) need to be rethought in light of the use of English as a common language bridge between speakers of different L1s, and how this rethinking may impact language policy in the future.

Official language policy in the Nordic region tends to involve English. This is true even when specific languages are not specified. For example, Saarinen and Nikula (2013) analyzed Finnish national policy documents and university website data as well as pilot interviews related to international programs of study and found that English is rarely mentioned. Rather, references are made to "foreign languages", although this in practice means specifically English. Similar results are also found in Saarinen (2012) who finds "a euphemistic usage of 'foreign' for 'English'". (p. 168) Referring to programs as "international/intercultural and global" (Saarinen & Nikula, 2013, p. 7) also implies the presence of English without having to specifically mention that specific language. This is in keeping with Tange (2010, p. 138) who showed that the assumption that international education will be in English is also the case in Denmark.

Two related research trends can be organized around Saarinen and Nikula's (2013) two questions related to English in international programs: "What kind of English" (p. 141-2) and "Whose English" (p. 142-6). "What kind of English" refers to the level or quality of English which is required of international students upon entry into international programs, as measured by large-scale standardized tests such as the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL, https://www.ets.org/toefl) or the International English Language Testing System (IELTS, http://www.ielts.org). Saarinen and Nikula found that English is something the students are expected to have at program start; that is, students are not seen as also being English language learners during their course of study, but rather solely learners of a particular discipline or domain. Similar results have been found in other settings (for example, Hellekjær, 2009 in relation to students' ability to read academic texts).

"Whose English" refers to how different types or varieties of English influence student admission to international programs. In the Finnish programs studied by Saarinen and Nikula (2013), exemptions from language testing entry requirements are given to those who can show education in a small number of English speaking countries, for example, the United States or Canada, the United Kingdom or Ireland, or Australia or New Zealand. It is interesting that these countries are all within the so-called "inner circle" (Kachru, 2015 [1985]), meaning that experience with other Englishes become delegitimized in the admission process.

Questions relating both to "What kind of English" and in particular, "Whose English" can also be seen as forming the base of a separate research area, English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). Of particular relevance to this study, research into ELF in academic settings (or ELFA) points to the apparent privileging of L1 varieties of English (as shown for example in the Finnish examples above) which may influence policy decisions. In contrast to this privileging, Jenkins, Cogo, and Dewey (2011, p. 301) argue that "an alternative way of

looking at English is needed" which takes into account the large percentage of non-L1 speakers of English who use English in academic settings. Jenkins (2011) calls for policy that is sensitive to ELF rather than "grounded in largely national (British and North American) English norms" (p. 926).

One study of university staff across the world, along with analysis of university websites (Jenkins, 2014) revealed that the need for ELF sensitive language policy has not yet been met. To the extent that interviewed staff in the case study department (all but one of whom were L2 English speakers) referred to their own English use in non-L1 terms (as for example, in referring to the use of "broken English"), the case department did not appear to be basing policy on inner circle norms. It is not clear how such norms might have influenced, for example admission of foreign students, or hiring of foreign staff, as these areas were outside the scope of the case study. At the same time, that interviewees refer to their non-L1 use of English as "broken" in itself shows that one of the central contentions of ELF, namely that English can be used by L2 speakers in ways which are effective (e.g. Jenkins, Cogo, & Dewey, 2011, p. 284; Björkman, 2012, p. 114), may not be accepted by teaching staff in the case department.

The research reviewed in this section so far has focused on the student in EMI settings with some attention as well to the EMI lecturer. The same two questions also apply here. Regarding "what kind of English", lecturers have also been assumed to have the English skills necessary to change over to English without great difficulty (Hellekjær, 2010; Ljosland, 2011). There has been little research on ensuring English language qualifications among teaching staff through assessment and screening. However, there is at least one Danish university which has introduced such a test (albeit one for already employed teaching staff rather than one for potential new employees) for reasons of quality assurance (Kling & Stæhr, 2011, 2012). Other studies (for example, Vinke, Snippe, & Jochems, 1998, p. 392) have

called for such screening. Klaassen and Bos (2010) report on a university wide screening of teaching staff as a response to student complaints about the quality of EMI instruction. As for "whose English", here, too, ELFA research connecting ELF and academic testing has made a clear case for assessment that reflects realistic norms for settings where English is used as a lingua franca (e.g. McNamara, 2012; Jenkins & Leung, 2013; also Chopin, 2015, for discussion within a Danish higher education context).

As noted above, medium of instruction is influenced by internationalization and by the growth of English in higher education in general, and as a language for instruction in particular. These topics are focused on in the next sections.

2.2 Internationalization of Higher Education

LPP always arises in context, as both an influencer and a result of social, political, and economic conditions and trends. In the context of the case department, one main influencing factor is internationalization. As can be seen in the figures for the use of English in Danish universities (Hultgren, 2013b), academic institutions are characterized by an increase in foreign students and researchers and an accompanying rise in English-medium instruction. The case department is no exception to these trends. To show (in section 2.3) how such mobility affects language use, in particular with regards to the increased use of English, two aspects of the internationalization process need consideration, namely student mobility as a result of exchange and full degree programs, and researcher mobility. An introductory section elaborates on the relationship between internationalization and the growth of English.

2.2.1 Internationalization and Englishization

The following sections on student and researcher mobility deal with internationalization in European higher education. They also in large part deal with the growth of English in these settings. First though, it is necessary to give an overview of the relationship between internationalization and Englishization. This is given from two angles. The first briefly questions how English came to have the large role it has; so, what factors led to Englishization in European higher education. The following discussion focuses on to what extent it does or does not make sense to link the two terms.

In answer to the first question, there is no commonly agreed upon path that has been mapped out which explains the growing prominence of English. However, two theories have been especially prominent in the literature, and are overviewed here. The first theory views English as a lucky language, and is characterized by Crystal's (2003, p. 77-78) assertion that "in relation to so many of the major socio-cultural developments of the past 200 years, […] the English language has repeatedly found itself 'in the right place at the right time'." In other words, no agent or agents worked to bring about the growth of English. Rather, it happened naturally in response to social, political, and economic circumstances over time.

In contrast to this 'lucky break' theory as an explanation for the success of English, Phillipson (1992) links the growth of English to linguistic imperialism, in which the language is used as an instrument of power in order to "legitimate, effectuate and reproduce an uneven division of power and resources" (p. 47) (for a more direct rebuttal of Crystal, 2003, see Phillipson, 1999). In this view, the growth of English is not innocuous, but is comparable to other forms of imperialism. Phillipson (2015, p. 9) applies this theory to the growth of English-medium instruction in Europe, asking "whether the expansion of English should be seen as constituting English linguistic imperialism", and determining that it does. In particular, he criticizes authors (most notably Coleman, 2013) for viewing English as

"unproblematical" (Phillipson, 2015, p. 26), a term which belongs to the 'lucky breaks' view of the language. Not everyone is convinced of the reality of linguistic imperialism (e.g. Spolsky, 2004, Davies, 1996), however what is clear is that English has come to play a large and growing role in the internationalization process in European higher education.

Regardless of how English came to play this role, there is also the question of how to characterize concomitant internationalization and Englishization. Common understanding within the Bologna process has been that "'internationalisation means English medium higher education'" (Phillipson, 2006, p. 16, referring to a 2005 meeting held in connection with the Bologna process and its implementation). Phillipson (2006) in this context envisions English as a cuckoo which pushes national languages out of their territorial nests. Ljosland (2005), referring to interviews she conducted with policy makers, reaches the same conclusions for Norway specifically. Ljosland remarks that nothing in the Bologna declaration mandates education in English, but that in practice (in Norway, but also arguably elsewhere in the European Union), internationalization ends up being equated with EMI.

Fabricius, Mortensen, and Haberland (2016) move past the dichotomy of national language vs. English to highlight what they call a paradox of "internationalization and linguistic pluralism". They take the example of Roskilde University in Denmark, which in 1989 instituted multilingual undergraduate programs, where students could learn through the medium of French and German as well as English. They note that over time, while the students in the programs come from more linguistically diverse backgrounds, the number of common languages which can be used as a medium of instruction (or in the words of Fabricius et al., the number of languages which the students *can be expected* to have in common") has decreased. As a result, the Roskilde programs are now taught only in English.

In summary, internationalization does not equal Englishization; however, there has been a tendency both at the top-down level (such as through the Bologna Process) and in

actual practice (as at Roskilde) for certain stakeholders to act as if they do. In the present study as well, English and Danish were singled out by interview participants as the single main languages, despite many of the participants having knowledge and background of other languages than those two. With this in mind, the following discussions of internationalization and mobility ends up focusing primarily on the role of English in contrast to local languages in European higher education.

2.2.2 Exchange Programs and Student Mobility

The internationalization of higher education means mobility. "Students and academics are more mobile than ever before, and competition for both is becoming fiercer" (Coleman, 2006, p. 3). These trends have been exacerbated by the Bologna process, which was originally prompted by academic values but which has over time become financially driven (Wächter, 2008, p. 24). This has turned higher education over to the free market economy where the student is a customer, and the university is a brand (Coleman, 2006, p. 3).

The effects of the Bologna process and of the marketization of higher education in Europe can be measured in various ways. One marker is the number of international programs offered in English at European countries. Research into this number has shown a marked increase in such programs in recent years. Wächter and Maiworm (2008), a follow-up study to Maiworm and Wächter (2002), report a tripling of English-medium programs from 2002 ("slightly over 700") to 2007 ("almost 2,400", both figures Wächter & Maiworm, 2008, p.10). They show that such programs are especially common at the MA level, and in Northern Europe ("North of the Alps"). Brenn-White and van Rest (2012), looking only at MA level programs listed on MastersPortal (http://www.masterportal.eu), an online directory of available study opportunities at the master's level, show that this increase has continued. It

identified 3,701 English taught programs (plus 963 programs taught partially in English, a category which was not included by Wächter and Maiworm). They also found a preponderance of programs in Northern Europe, with Denmark taking second place (to the Netherlands) in terms of the average number of English-taught master's programs per institution listed on MastersPortal. The impact of shorter exchanges such as ERASMUS has also been substantial (Teichler, 2009).

The goods traded in the higher education marketplace are students, who as of 2007 were required to pay tuition at their host institution in 70% of all programs taught in English in European higher education institutions (Wächter & Maiworm, 2008, p. 61) with the highest fees being charged by Denmark (Wächter & Maiworm, 2008, p. 62). Through such fees, the mobile student thus becomes a valuable source of income for local universities, who then compete to recruit them. This competition plays out through reputation (as measured by rankings). It also plays out through accessibility, which can be measured by language, and specifically by the availability of courses and programs taught in English. In this competition through English, Anglo countries have a clear advantage (Hughes, 2008). However, countries such as the Netherlands and Scandinavian countries (including Denmark), which have the resources to offer many programs in English, have also benefitted from the rise of English in university settings.

The case department also shows signs of student mobility, through the presence of both exchange students and full degree international students at both the undergraduate and especially the master's level. As will be seen, the presence of these students affects how the use of English and Danish in the department is viewed.

2.2.3 Researcher Mobility

In addition to student mobility there is researcher mobility. To repeat the quote given in the beginning of the previous section, "Students and academics are more mobile than ever before, and competition for both is becoming fiercer" (Coleman, 2006, p. 3). However, in the literature looking at internationalization and its effects on language use in higher education, the focus has been on student mobility, with surprisingly little attention being given to the other side of the equation, which is researcher or academic mobility. The assumption in many of the studies reviewed above seems to be that students move around, but receive instruction primarily from teachers or lecturers who are local to the host universities. However, this is clearly not always the case, as can be seen by looking at the case department, where a large percentage of teaching staff, particularly at the postdoctoral level, is non-Danish. As with student mobility, researcher mobility affects language use in the case department as well as attitudes towards the use of both Danish and English.

Despite its importance, the area of researcher mobility has been under-investigated (Jacob & Meek, 2013, p. 335), in part because of a lack of adequate quantitative data (Cañibano, Otamendi, & Solís, 2011, p. 654; Cañibano, Otamendi, & Andújar, 2008, p. 17-18; Musselin, 2004, p. 57; Gill, 2005, p. 320). However, studies have been carried out on researcher mobility in the fields of law, organizational sociology, and general (as opposed to language) policy. These projects have investigated issues such as why researchers become mobile, what their goals for mobility are, and what types of mobility are expected; their findings are reflected in the case department.

Jacob and Meek (2013) present a summary of recent trends in research mobility (which they refer to as scientific mobility). They refer to "an increased emphasis on performance-based resource allocation" in the research policies of EU member states that serve to increase collaboration, which in turn leads to a greater "need for mobility among

researchers" (Jacob & Meek, 2013, p. 335-6). This serves as incentive for researchers to go abroad. They note that it is "increasingly expected" for "European academics" to do a postdoctoral stay abroad, something they say is a recent adoption of American university practice (Jacob & Meek, 2013, p. 336).

Just as student mobility trends favor universities in certain countries in Kachru's (2015 [1985]) inner circle, research mobility favors movement towards "traditional scientific hubs in the north - USA and Europe" both by researchers from these hubs and elsewhere (Jacob & Meek, 2013, p. 331). Cañibano et al. (2011, p. 654) carried out a CV-based quantitative study of "recurrent short term mobility" (defined as more than one week, but less than two years) by researchers based in the Andalusia region of Spain. They found similar findings, specifically that a majority of researcher visits (over 60%) across all disciplines are to Western Europe (Cañibano et al., 2011, p. 669). Overall, Cañibano et al. (2011) found lower mobility in the sciences than in other areas (p. 661). However, this may be because longer-term stays (for example 3-year postdoc positions) are more the norm in these areas than are those less than two years. In addition, they show that younger researchers (again, across all disciplines) are more mobile than older ones, and that younger researchers tend to take visiting positions earlier in their careers, even before gaining their PhD degrees, while older researchers are more likely to have started taking stays abroad only after finishing their PhD degrees (Cañibano et al., 2011, p. 667). Both of these trends may indicate that mobility is increasing, with more mobility expected of younger researchers. This mobility may lead to brain drain for some regions. Conversely, it could be more a case of "brain circulation" where knowledge and expertise circulate among countries via research networks rather than leaving some countries in favor of others (Jacob & Meek, 2013, p. 338).

In the case department, most permanent staff are Danish. Most postdoctoral staff, on the other hand, are non-Danish, and thus can be counted as mobile researchers. According to

Musselin (2004), a prime driver of such postdoc mobility is a desire to improve qualifications in order to later achieve a permanent (tenure-track) position in the home country. Musselin argues that differing hiring practices, educational systems, and recognition of qualifications make inter-country hiring for such permanent positions complicated. This results in postdocs being hired in riskier positions (for example in terms of research topics worked on) with less security from the host institutions. Host institutions, in turn, "do not expect [their postdocs] to stay and do not try to attract them with the promise of a career in the welcoming country" (Musselin, 2004, p. 68). This results in a situation where "even when post-docs feel perfectly integrated in their welcoming research institution, this post doctoral period is considered as a difficult one and they generally expect to return home" (Musselin, 2004, p. 70). This expectation may be borne out (Cañibano et al., 2011, p. 655), although, in certain markets, return mobility may be complicated, for example, by local career structures and hiring practices (for example, in Italy, as shown by Gill, 2005; or in Spain by Cruz-Castro & Sanz-Menéndez, 2010) as well as a loss of professional networks in the home country combined with a focus on such networks in the host country (Gill, 2005, p. 336). Specific studies of mobility in Denmark have not been carried out, yet a study in another Scandinavian context, namely Norway, showed that patterns of mobility were also relevant. Nerdrum and Sarpebakken (2006, p. 227) found that younger "high fliers" were more likely to remain in Norway for only a short time, while older researchers were more likely to settle there rather than continue to be mobile, a pattern that seemed also to apply to the case department.

Mobility of both students and researchers is an interesting subject of research in itself. However, it also has ramifications for language use in higher education. In particular, when students and researchers move across borders, they bring with them a need for a common language with which to communicate in their new university work- and study places. This

common language has tended to be English. The use of English as a language of teaching will be addressed next.

2.3 The EMI Classroom and its Implications

As noted before, along with an increase in internationalization comes a concomitant rise in the amount of English used in internationalized universities in places where the local language of the society is not English. For example, in the Danish context, the internationalization of higher education has brought about greater need for a lingua franca for those situations where not all participants can communicate in Danish and English has been chosen as the default lingua franca. This certainly can be seen in the case department, where the presence of international students and researchers provides a need for languages other than Danish, while at the same time limiting the languages which can serve as a lingua franca to one, English. This can be found in all areas of university life, but the focus here will be the growing use of English-medium instruction, or EMI.

EMI is found in any situation where a content course that might otherwise be taught in a local language is taught in English instead. As opposed to a language course, which focuses on teaching linguistic elements (vocabulary, grammar, etc.), or a CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) course where both content and language learning are goals of the course, EMI focuses solely on the content, which happens to be given in what is a foreign language to many or most of the students (and most likely to the teacher as well). In research done on EMI in a Danish setting, Kling Soren (2013) offers a model which illustrates the ways in which EMI instruction is different than a "traditional L1 content course". (p. 5). Her model shows the traditional content course where both the instructor and the students share a common national background (in this case Danish; of course comparable situations could

occur in other locations in the world). This implies shared language, but also shared culture, and shared educational culture (which would in turn mean, for example, shared expectations of classroom performance and course evaluation). Because the shared elements are assumed, classroom instruction can focus on the content of the course, including building literacy in a specific academic domain in the L1 (for example, building sociology literacy in Danish within a traditional sociology course given in Danish).

In contrast to the traditional content classroom, in the context of an EMI course, elements taken for granted in the traditional course cannot be assumed. In the part of the model showing the EMI content course, Kling Soren keeps the Danish native speaker teacher, but now teaching in English, which is a foreign language or L2. Students in this setting can be divided into three groups, with Danish native speakers (the same students found in the traditional classroom) who are now joined by students who do not have Danish as a native language, some of whom are potentially native English speakers while some or many others have neither English nor Danish as a native language. This leads to a more heterogeneous student body, which is the norm in international programs (for example, Saarinen & Nikula, 2013, for such programs in Finland). Students in these contexts may not necessarily share any common elements of native language or culture, and may bring vastly differing experiences and expectations of the education process into the classroom. This has implications for both teaching and learning. As with the traditional classroom, academic literacy is still important. This literacy, however, now takes place in an L2. In addition, as expectations differ (due to the variety of educational experiences of students and teachers), educational culture must also be taught. The EMI classroom is, thus, not a straightforward translation of a traditional classroom into English, but, instead, involves complicating factors for all stakeholders.

The development of EMI in Europe has not been even across countries or regions. For example, in Northern Europe, in particular the Nordic region and the Netherlands, EMI

programs have been in place for well over a decade, have been the subject of research for an equally long period of time (e.g. Klaassen, 2001; Vinke, 1995; Airey, 2004), and have been normalized to the extent that new programs are rarely met with controversy (though worries about domain loss do exist, as overviewed in section 2.4.1). By contrast, EMI is at earlier stages of implementation further south; this can be seen for example in the controversy that has accompanied moves towards EMI programs in Italy (Pulcini & Campagna, 2015; Salomone, 2015) and France (Salomone, 2015). Hultgren, Jensen, and Dimova (2015, p. 1), in their overview of the development of EMI across Europe, divide the continent into regions: Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western and Central, each characterized by a different response to EMI implementation. In particular, they find "a rather striking north-south divide with the Nordic and Baltic states having a higher proportion of English-medium master's programmes per 100,000 inhabitants than Southern Europe" (Hultgren, Jensen, & Dimova, 2015, p. 3).

Because the EMI situation is so different in different regions, and as my study looks specifically at a higher education setting in Denmark, I have chosen to focus in the following three subsections primarily on literature related to the Nordic region. Research looking at the EMI classroom setting in this region has focused on three spheres which are impacted by the switch to English: the language policies, the teacher, and the student. Language policy in relation to EMI have already been discussed (in 2.1.3); EMI and its impact on the teacher and student are discussed next.

2.3.1 EMI and the Teacher

As shown by the Kling Soren (2013) model, teachers in the EMI classroom teach content in a language that they do not speak natively (though EMI classrooms could be fronted by instructors who do have English as their mother tongue, these speakers are not the

focus of EMI research) to students who, in many cases, also do not speak it natively. The extent to which this affects teaching in comparison to teaching in the L1 has been extensively studied. How non-native English speaking teachers view teaching in English has also been a focus of investigation.

Research has tended to show that teaching and lecturing in English as a foreign language is measurably different to teaching or lecturing in the instructor's native language. In teaching in English as an L2, instructors are confronted with linguistic limitations (Vinke, 1995). Their speech rate in teaching is slower than that characteristic of teaching in the L1 (Thøgersen & Airey, 2011; Vinke, 1995) which negatively impacts the amount of information which can be conveyed. Beyond the rate of speed, L2 teaching has a more formal style "more closely resembling written language norms" (Thøgersen & Airey, 2011, p. 220). It is also lacking in nuancing compared with L1 teaching (Tange, 2010). While it is more repetitive (Thøgersen & Airey, 2011), it is lacking in types of redundancy (such as rephrasing or summarizing) that can be useful for learners (Vinke, 1995). L2 teaching tends to be dryer and lacking in humor or anecdotes (Wilkinson, 2005), with L2 teachers less able to improvise while teaching or lecturing (Vinke, 1995). They tend to have strong enough domain vocabulary, but weaker vocabulary for "casual exchanges", which affects the ability to "communicate knowledge in an effective and student friendly manner" (Tange, 2010, p. 142). Along with problems in the classroom, teachers also expend more time and mental energy preparing lessons in an L2 than in their native language (Vinke, 1995, p. 140; Vinke et al., 1998, p. 387).

This is not to say that all lecturers in English as an L2 have equal difficulty in terms of language. Those whose L2 language skills were stronger, and who had more experience teaching in English, have been found to have fewer difficulties (Vinke, 1995, p. 142). Tange (2010, p. 142) found similar results, reporting that lecturers with limited English find

language problematic, whereas those with more experience in international settings, who find their English sufficient, have more issues with the cultural aspects of the EMI classroom. In some research, language skills were shown not to be the only factor leading to success in the classroom. For example, Björkman (2010, 2011) found pragmatic ability to be more important than proficiency in an ELF (English as a lingua franca) setting (such as the EMI classroom). A connection was also made between L1 lecturing skills and L2 problems, finding that "changing the lecturing language merely accentuates communication problems that are already present in first-language lectures" (Airey, 2009, p. 84). Hellekjær (2010, p. 24) reported similar findings, with many of his informants describing the same problems in both L1 and L2 English teaching. Similar issues were also found in Klaassen (2001).

In contrast to research on the effects of teaching in English as an L2, research on how lecturers oriented towards teaching in L2 English was more positive. In a study in Sweden, university lecturers "expressed the belief that the choice of language of instruction was not an issue for them - they preferred English, but Swedish of course could be used at early undergraduate levels" (Airey, 2012, p. 71). In a survey of Danish university lecturers, Jensen, Stæhr, and Thøgersen (2009) reported similar results, namely that lecturers did not find teaching in English to be problematic. Younger respondents reported fewer problems than older ones, and teachers with a greater English course load describing fewer problems than those with less EMI teaching.

The seeming paradox between EMI lecturers reporting a lack of problems with lecturing in an L2 despite clear research showing that problems exist might be reconciled by Airey's (2012) finding that lecturers are not seeing themselves as language teachers but rather as content teachers. This would imply that less importance is given to the language of instruction and to possible language limitations in teaching and lecturing. This could have implications for how teaching staff in the case department oriented towards decisions to teach

in English or in Danish. For Danish L1-speaking staff, research would indicate language and pedagogy advantages to teaching in Danish rather than in English; however, these advantages might not be fully recognized by staff members. For non-Danish-speaking teaching staff with no choice but to teach in English, these issues might be viewed differently.

2.3.2 EMI and the Student

While this investigation of the case department has focused primarily on teaching staff, students and their relationship to learning in both Danish and English emerged as something which interviewed staff considered when thinking about their own connections to the two languages. For this reason, the research on the student EMI experience has relevance. This research has focused on students in the EMI classroom, in particular related to whether they are able to learn as effectively in a foreign language and to their attitudes towards the EMI experience. Research into these issues has generated comparable findings. Just as lecturing in a foreign language affects the rate of speech, students giving a presentation in a foreign language were shown to have lower rates of speed (by up to 20-25%), a fact which seriously impacted information content (Hincks, 2010). Airey (2010) found similar percentages in cases where students appeared to have mastery of the concepts they were presenting, with speech rate even more affected when such mastery was lacking. Most students also had some degree of difficulty in reading English academic texts (Hellekjær, 2009) and in writing them (Hellekjær & Westergaard, 2003). In overall terms, students were shown to learn less in EMI classrooms than in comparable classrooms with instruction in a given student's native language (Vinke, 1995).

In contrast to lecturers, for whom domain specific vocabulary was stronger than more general vocabulary (Tange, 2010), students in the EMI classroom may have sufficient

command of general English but be unable to discuss domain specific terms in English (Airey, 2010). This was unsurprising, especially in the case of first year students who were just beginning their studies in the domain area, and was not as evident in second year students.

Just as EMI lecturers did not generally find teaching in English as an L2 to be problematic, students did not generally find learning in an EMI situation to be problematic for themselves (although Wilkinson, 2005 did find that students viewed EMI slightly negatively for content learning, though positive for language learning), nor did they perceive the reduced speech rate of their instructors (Vinke, 1995, p. 138). Airey and Linder (2006), in a study of Swedish undergraduate students in EMI programs, found that students "say they notice very little difference in their learning when taught in English rather than in Swedish". (p, 555). However, with stimulated recall, a number of problems emerged related to learning in an L2. This included an unwillingness to ask questions in lectures, or to answer questions posed by the lecturer. They also found that students' note taking compromised their ability to also fully understand the lecture (something also noted by Hellekjær, 2010, looking at Norwegian and German students in EMI programs).

One area where more research has focused on students than on teachers involves language choice in broader EMI classroom situations, that is, when English is used and when the local language (or other languages) are used not just within a lecture, but also in other parts of a classroom event, such as for question asking, group work, or during breaks. In an EMI classroom in a Swedish university, Söderlundh (2010) found that, while the lecture itself was in English, Swedish students took opportunities to use Swedish whenever possible, for example in the breaks, and sometimes when asking questions to a lecturer who could understand them. This had the effect of giving special status to the local language in comparison to other languages spoken by course participants (apart from English, which, as

the course language, would also be privileged). Kiil (2011) found similar results in a Danish setting, showing that local students would revert to Danish also in situations where not all participants in a conversation were able to understand Danish. This has implications for language choice in core parts of the classroom situations, with Wilkinson (2005) finding that, given the choice, the students would in many cases have chosen L1 instruction. Furthermore, when given a choice to write assignments in the local language or English, only 10% of local students chose to write in English.

2.3.3 What about Danish Medium Instruction?

An enormous and growing body of literature exists which focuses on the EMI classroom, and its effects on policy, teachers, and students. However, in Danish universities, including DU, English is not the only language in which content is taught and learned as a foreign language. More to the point, as the local language of Denmark is Danish, and as especially undergraduate courses are often taught in the local language, there are non-native speakers of Danish who both teach and learn through the medium of Danish in Danish Medium Instruction (DMI) classrooms. There is however a lack of research on teaching and learning in the DMI classroom.

One exception to this is Olsen (2012), who presented a case study of a single instructor (a Turkish L1 speaker) and her experiences teaching university content courses in Danish, which was for her a foreign language. Olsen shows that many of the same issues which arise in EMI research also applied to this lecturer. She felt that she sounded more childish and less authoritative in Danish than she would have in either English or Turkish (Olsen, 2012, p. 36), and it appeared that she also needed more preparation time when teaching in Danish than would otherwise have been necessary (Olsen, 2012, p. 36-7). Beyond

linguistic difficulties, the lecturer experienced anxiety when teaching in Danish. Although she was an experienced teacher, teaching in Danish led her to question her abilities, to the point where she considered leaving Denmark altogether (Olsen, 2012, p. 58). Interestingly (and also in keeping with a similar study done in an EMI context: Westbrook & Henriksen, 2011), her students did not see her teaching in Danish as negatively as she herself did.

It is not possible to generalize about a whole field - in this case, DMI - from a case study of a single individual, but it is important and relevant to mention that in the case department as well as in other departments in Danish universities, the question of who is considered able to teach in Danish can be and is being asked.

2.4 Domain Loss and Parallel Language Use in the Nordic Region

The literature reviewed up until this point has focused on many areas of the world (section 2.1), or specifically on Europe (section 2.2 and 2.3). In this final literature area, the geographic focus will be narrowed again, to focus on the Nordic region, and on Denmark. This will be done through an overview of the research into two concepts of special interest in the region. The first, domain loss, can be seen as a fear arising from the growth of English and the effects such growth could potentially have on local languages such as Danish. The second, parallel language use, is a concept that is largely unknown outside of the Nordic region. It is an orientation towards LPP which can be seen, in part or in whole, as a response to the growth of English and the fear of domain loss. These two concepts serve to tie together the literature on LPP and on the growth of English which lie at the heart of this dissertation, placing them in the local context where DU and the case department are also to be found.

2.4.1 Domain Loss and the Effects of English in Academia

The increase in the use of English in settings where English is not the local language can have, or can be perceived to have, the effect of partially or fully displacing local languages. This section examines this potential effect. In particular, in the academic arena in Denmark, English is often thought to be a threat to the Danish language in general as well as to specific vocabulary in Danish, a phenomenon known as domain loss. Research has focused on what domain loss is and on whether it is a measurable phenomenon that can be shown to be happening in different places. In some places, in particular in the Nordic region, domain loss is not seen as just an academic problem, but instead has been discussed and debated in the larger society.

Before examining the possible existence of domain loss, it is first necessary to define what a domain is, as well as what loss is. The term "domain" is commonly attributed to Fishman (1972), for whom it is an area of interaction through which language choice is organized in stable multilingual societies. In Fishman's terms, what is a relevant domain depends in part upon the individual society (albeit some situations, such as the home, presumably are relevant in most or all such societies). In contrast, general discussions of domain loss in a Danish context presuppose the presence of domains that are specified in advance, such as the university domain or the domain of science (Haberland, 2005). Inasmuch as a language in itself is not in possession of domains, it is not possible for a language to lose domain (Haberland, 2005, p. 227). However, the concept of "loss" in connection with "domain" in general discussions of the term in Denmark may have more to do with what Preisler (2005, p. 243, italics in original) refers to as the deterioration of "the *linguistic competence of users* of the language" as opposed to the language itself deteriorating in some way. That is to say, a language such as Danish is not able to lose domain or

deteriorate in and of itself. Danish speakers, however, may become unable to use the language in certain domains for whatever reason.

One can also question what constitutes "domain loss". According to Ravnholt (2008), two kinds of domain loss can be discerned within discussions of the term in the Danish context. Ravnholt's two types are characterized by Hultgren (2011, 2012) as "English instead of Danish" ("engelsk i stedet for dansk") and "English in Danish" ("engelsk i dansk"). English instead of Danish refers to situations where English becomes the language of communication in place of Danish, which as Hultgren points out is a form of language shift. English in Danish refers to situations where field specific domain terminology is used in English either because a Danish term is no longer used, or because a Danish term does not exist, in an otherwise Danish spoken or written context. This is not language shift, but rather terminology loss. In both cases, domain loss for Danish involves domain gain for English; no other language is implicated in the literature or in public discussion.

Both types of domain loss can be found, or are perceived to be found, in Danish university life. English instead of Danish is tied up with both the increase of researcher mobility and of English medium instruction. English in Danish is seen in written form in the dissemination of research through publication, which has been shown (by Hultgren, 2013b, overviewed in section 2.1) to be primarily in English, particularly in the sciences. Whether publication happens in Danish at a local level alongside English at a more international level (as reported by Preisler, 2005 for the field of English studies), or whether researchers are expected to publish research results primarily or only in English (as overviewed in, for example Tonkin, 2011; Mendieta et al., 2006) may be different for different academic fields. There are two main examples in the "university domain" of English in some way taking the place of Danish: in teaching (in the EMI classroom), and in research (especially in academic publishing). Each of these requires that a different definition of domain loss be used. Each of

these types of potential domain loss can be found in the case department, and will be examined in connection with the literature on the topic.

Other themes present in the literature on domain loss in Danish contexts asks the question of who is or is not worried about domain loss, and why. In terms of why domain loss is a concern, behind discussion of domain loss "lurks the implied fear of language death" (Haberland, 2005, p. 228), that is, that Danish will cease to be a viable language, being replaced by English in all domains for all situations. This fear of the demise of Danish can come about from either direction: terminology loss can lead to a situation where so much content is in English that it is easier to just switch to English entirely, or a situation where a general shift to English also stalls the development and use of terminology in Danish (Hultgren, 2011).

However, not everyone worries equally about Danish losing ground to English. Preisler (2005) divides the general Danish population into two groups, which he calls the "followers" and the "concerned". The followers (who are the majority) see English as a means for increased contact with the rest of the world outside of Denmark. For this group, English is not a threat to Danish. In contrast, the concerned are "a small but influential minority whose views on the influence of English are more critical, and who represent the cultural elite" (Preisler, 2005, p. 238). It is this smaller group who would have more awareness of the possibility of domain loss.

More relevant to the present study is the question of who is or is not worried about the possibility of domain loss in academia. Kuteeva and Airey (2013), researching in a Swedish context, found that attitudes towards the use of English varied along disciplinary lines. Specifically, those in the sciences saw English and English terminology as natural parts of their disciplines. Those in the humanities saw English in less favorable terms, with social scientists somewhere in the middle in terms of their relationships towards the use of English

in their fields. It is probable that similar disciplinary divisions might apply in other Scandinavian university settings, including in the case department.

Not only is not everyone equally worried about the effects of English on Danish in academia, not everyone is equally worried about the impact of English in every university domain. Preisler (2005) divides the university domain into teaching and research. Within this division, starting with the assumption that the default language of teaching in Denmark would be in Danish, he concludes that "international student and teacher mobility is by definition a threat to the viability of Danish as the language of instruction in higher education" (Preisler, 2005, p. 246). In contrast, research done in English is seen as a means of international communication "taking place in transnational networks within which the language of communication is negotiated among the participants themselves", and is not viewed as a source of domain loss (Preisler, 2005, p. 246). A survey of Danish lecturers into this division of teaching and dissemination of research (Jensen & Thøgersen, 2011, p. 26) failed to find exactly what would be expected by Preisler's predictions. Their survey respondents agreed that "Danish technical language will disappear if a lot of teaching is conducted in English", which does support Preisler. However, they also found agreement that it is necessary to offer more teaching in English. In terms of research, survey results indicated agreement that "Danish researchers must disseminate their findings in Danish", though this is not attributed to any fear of domain loss through such dissemination in English. How research is disseminated in the case department offers yet another view of these issues, tending to fall more in line with Jensen and Thøgersen's findings than with Preisler's, possibly due to the departments' integration within the sciences.

Apart from how Danish is perceived to be losing ground (or not) to English is the question of whether Danish domain loss is actually occurring. Researchers have focused more on theoretical discussion than empirical research. One exception is Hultgren (2013a),

who measured the amount of English terminology (assuming lexical borrowing from English as a proxy for Danish terminology loss) in undergraduate science lectures in three different science disciplines. She found differences between lexical borrowing among the departments examined (though for all three, the overall percentage was low, at around 1%). A general finding, however, was that the English terms used could be viewed as additions to the Danish lexicon rather than replacements for Danish terms, in which case a more appropriate term might be domain gain.

2.4.2 Parallel Language Use

The growth of English in a variety of contexts in the Nordic region has been received as a mixed blessing. On the one hand, as discussed in the last section, it has inspired fears of possible domain loss, which in turn has led to a perceived need to protect local languages from this Anglicizing influence. However, at the same time, there has been a perceived need for English in connection with processes of internationalization. One response to both the growth of English and the growing push to protect local languages has led to the introduction and use in the Nordic context of the concept of parallel language use. This section gives an overview of the concept and its history. It goes on to outline parallel language use of both English and local languages at Nordic universities in general and then describes the particulars of the English-Danish situation at DU and within the case department.

Harder (2008, my translation) defines parallel language use as being "where two languages are used side by side […] without one of them being secondary or marginalized in relation to the other". He then offers a more technical definition: "Parallel language use is balanced domain-specific bilingualism". Any two languages can be parallel in a given domain (Harder, 2008 gives the example of a family in which each parent speaks a different

language with their children; in theory, any two languages can be represented in this situation). In the Danish context, however, parallel language use refers almost exclusively to the use of English and Danish. In the university context, parallel language use can be seen as giving equal status to both languages, where both English and Danish are possible languages for use in any given situation as appropriate.

As well as having a meaning as a general concept of language use, parallel language is also an LPP concept strongly associated with the Nordic region. It is involved both explicitly and implicitly in LPP decisions in both DU and the case department. The term first appeared in a Swedish government document (Swedish Language Council, 1998; cited in Källkvist & Hult, 2016, p. 3). A history of parallel language use as an LPP term in a Danish context is given in Davidsen-Nielsen (2008). According to Davidsen-Nielsen (2008), the Danish word for parallel language use ("parallelsproglighed") has been used in Danish from as far back as 1969. However, as a term with language policy implications, it stems from a 2002 newspaper column (also by Davidsen-Nielsen). At that point, parallel language use was framed as a means to prevent domain loss to English, which would be "accompanied by a loss of knowledge and deepened social divisions" (Davidsen-Nielsen, 2008, my translation). The use of both Danish and English together was seen as a way to maintain the strength of both languages.

Further language policy moves in the Nordic region have continued to view parallel language use as being a means to strengthen English while continuing to maintain and develop local Nordic languages. This includes specific references to such language use in Danish university settings. For example, Davidsen-Nielsen (2008) refers to a statement on language policy given by the Danish Ministry of Culture (Kulturministeriet, 2004, my translation), saying that "If Danish is to continue to be used in academically demanding situations, there will be a need for parallel language use in research as well as in teaching". A

similar 2008 report by the Ministry of Culture (Kulturministeriet, 2008) expands on this with a two-pronged approach of, on the one hand, enabling researchers and students to participate internationally while, at the same time, continuing to develop Danish as an academic language in which, for example, domain terminology continues to be developed. Both of these statements frame parallel language use as a response to domain loss. They also reflect the use of Danish more locally, with English being used in international settings. At the same time though, they place importance on Danish as a fully developed and fully functioning language, in scientific as well as in other research areas. This raises a question which will be later be answered in the case department: to what extent might, or should, a university's commitment to parallel language use go along with a stemming of domain loss?

The concept is often used in Danish (and Nordic) contexts as if there were consensus among all interested parties as to its meaning. That is not the case, however. This is due, in part, to shifting interpretations of the goals of parallel language use-based language policies. As reviewed by Thøgersen (2010), the original goal was to protect Danish from the encroachment of English. Thøgersen (2010, my translation) contrasts this with a later specific language policy from the University of Copenhagen in which parallel language use is invoked as a means to ensure "that information and courses are available in English". With this shift from prioritizing the protection of Danish to prioritizing the availability of English, it could be argued that the meaning of the concept has been reversed.

Another area of disagreement regards the term itself. In this study, I have favored the term parallel language use because of its focus on the use of each language in actual communicative situations. This is in contrast to Hultgren (2014a), who refers to parallelingualism rather than parallel language use. For both of these terms, the use of the word "parallel" can and has been used for situations where languages are blended in actual practice, for example in a Danish lecture which refers to English textbook materials, or a

meeting where participants are free to comment in either Danish or English. These situations do exist in Danish university settings, including in the case department. However, Preisler (2010) argues for another term, "complementary language use" ("komplementærsproglighed") in order to better reflect the fact that this type of language blending is often not feasible; the result is situations where one single specific language is used, either English or Danish, rather than a mix of the two languages.

While parallel language use in its strong sense means that either Danish or English could be used in a communicative situation, that parallelism is limited by the language competencies of participants in any given communicative event. In order to have true parallel use of two languages, all participants must be able to communicate using either language. As Thøgersen (2010) points out, with the growing presence in universities of international non-Danish speaking researchers and students, this dual competency is not present, and cannot be assumed. He differentiates between parallel language practice ("praksis"), which is how the two languages are used in daily life, and parallel language competence ("kompetence"), which adds in the additional factor of who in any given setting is able to communicate (or not) in each language. How these two conflicting elements play out in any university context is a core issue and it will be of central concern in the analysis of how Danish and English are used in work situations in the case department.

2.5 Conclusions

The research reviewed here sets up the context in which this study has taken place. This study fits within the area of educational LPP, with a specific focus on one set of language policy decisions and how they were received by one Danish university department. In order to arrive at an understanding of the complexity of this situation, it is necessary to

relate it to research on internationalization, in particular with regards to researcher and student mobility. This mobility leads to EMI as another important element. Finally, as this study has taken place within a Danish context, it has been necessary to draw upon literature related to two areas, domain loss and parallel language use, which are of special relevance to the Nordic region. The literature related to all these areas provides different disciplinary frameworks through which to fully understand what is happening in the case department.

All of the relevant literature areas have been extensively researched. There are, however, gaps in the research. Few studies have analyzed language policy decisions in real time in relation to how they are perceived by those affected by them (although there have been examples looking at policy processes as they happen at the top-down level, for example Källkvist & Hult, 2016). Additionally, while research on EMI has focused on the effects of switching language of instruction away from local languages, there has been less investigation into what happens when the language of instruction has switched away from English. Also, while the EMI literature includes research on student mobility, and while there is a separate body of literature on researcher mobility, less work has been done relating the switch to English as a medium of instruction with the increasing presence of short-term international researchers. Finally, within the specific Danish context of this study, domain loss and parallel language use have not yet been adequately studied in terms of how individual university departments with international staff react to them. This study aims to fill in all of these gaps in the various literatures.

Chapter 3:
Theoretical Frameworks

The themes which have emerged as part of the data analysis process will be viewed through two theoretical lenses. The first is Nexus Analysis (hereafter referred to as NA), as formulated by Scollon and Scollon (2004) and further explicated by others (for example, Scollon, 2005; Blommaert, 2010); it is a meta-methodological approach informed by ethnographic and discourse analytic theory and practice. The second, used particularly for analysis of the case decisions, is Innovation Theory (hereafter InnT), as first developed in Henrichsen (1989), and later extended by Wall and Horák (2006, 2008, 2011). It provides a framework for analyzing and evaluating decision processes. I shall give a brief overview below of NA and InnT, focusing on how selected concepts from each relate to my study. I will then show how the two frameworks are used together within this study in a way that each can complement and reinforce the other. NA has been used to analyze language use at the case department while InnT will serve to organize the case decisions.

3.1 Nexus Analysis

Nexus Analysis (NA) is defined by Scollon and Scollon (2004, p. x) as "the study of semiotic cycles of people, objects, and discourses in and through moments of socio-cultural importance". It is distinct from other forms of discourse analysis because of its focus on social action, which is defined as "any action taken by an individual with reference to a social network" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 11). By focusing on "any action" as a potential social action, NA moves beyond traditional conceptions of discourse analysis. It focuses on either micro-level social interactions as in Conversational Analysis (e.g., Sacks, Schegloff, &

Jefferson, 1974) or Interactional Sociolinguistics (e.g., Gumperz, 1982), or alternately, on larger issues such as power in society as with Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g., Fairclough, 1995). In contrast, NA aims to connect the micro and the macro, and in so doing "to strategize unifying these two different levels of analysis" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 8). This makes it particularly useful for this study in which events in a particular setting (the case department) can be viewed as intertwined with larger levels of discourse (for example, at the faculty or university level, or higher, for example, in academia generally, in Europe or globally).

In NA, a social action is made possible through the use of "mediational means" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 12), that is, any kind of tool (broadly defined) which enables or affords certain actions. A social action can also be seen as an event where a combination of elements come together in what Scollon and Scollon (2004, p. 12) refer to as "a site of engagement". Scollon and Scollon (2004, p. 12) give the example of different practices - "sitting at a table, writing on paper with a pencil, handing the paper to a waiter" - coming together at the site of engagement to form the action of paying a bill. In addition to focusing on one instance of social action taken in one site of engagement, NA can also be used to analyze where a site of engagement is repeated, known as a "nexus of practice" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 12). In this study, the use of English or Danish in the case department can be seen as a meditational means which allows different practices to come together in particular sites of engagement to form social actions such as a classroom lecture or lunch room conversation. These social actions then become repeated and regularized into the nexus of practice known as classroom lecturing or lunch room socializing.

The specific conceptual vocabulary used in NA enhances the analysis of a wide range of situations or social actions at different discursive levels. Because of the wide scope of NA, it has been used to explore many different scales or levels of granularity, from something as

large as food production at the global scale where many interlocking nexus of practice are examined (Scollon, 2005), to a single site of engagement, where the focus is on a single supervision encounter (Soukup & Kordon, 2012). NA has also been used to examine a variety of situations occurring in higher education (for example, Scollon & Scollon, 2004; Bhalla, 2012) and as part of policy analysis (Hult, 2010a; Hult, 2015; Källkvist & Hult, 2016). The varied scope of NA, combined with its successful use in the areas of higher education and policy analysis also make it relevant for use in this study.

Scollon and Scollon (2004, p. 8) give an illustration of what a nexus analysis would look like using the example of a university classroom:

> Our interest, however, is in showing how what happens in that classroom occurs at a nexus or conjoining of many different trajectories - the life trajectories of each of the individual participants taken separately, the institutional trajectory of that particular university and that particular program, that physical space and many other trajectories of multiple discourses. A nexus analysis entails not only a close, empirical examination of the moment under analysis but also an historical analysis of these trajectories or discourse cycles that intersect in that moment as well as an analysis of the anticipations that are opened up by the social actions taken in that moment.

In other words, researchers use NA to examine their object by placing it in discursive and historical contexts. The social action at the heart of NA takes place where a number of other factors come together in space and time, in particular "the historical bodies of the participants in that action, the interaction order which they mutually produce among themselves, and the discourses in place which enable that action or are used by the participants as meditational means in that action" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 153). The

relationship between these factors with a social action at their center can be seen in Figure 3.1. These three concepts will be further discussed in the following sub-sections.

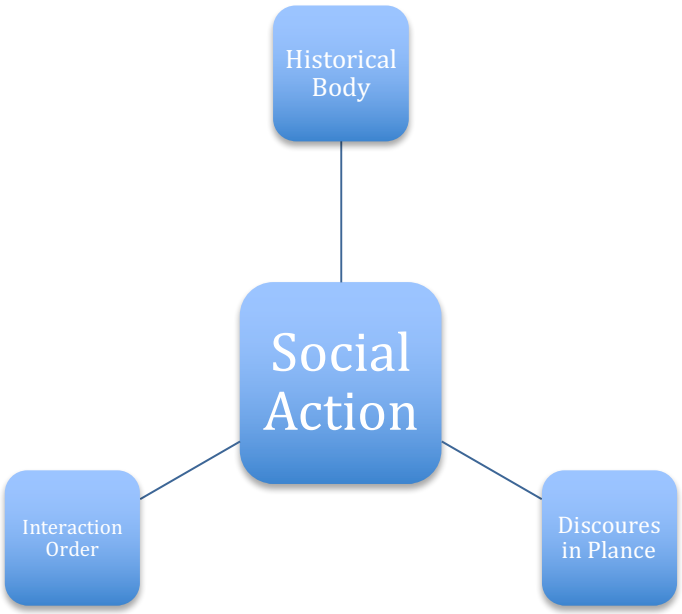

Figure 3.1 Nexus of Practice (adapted from Scollon and Scollon, 2004, p. 154)

In the present study, NA will be used as a lens for investigating how the case department staff use English and Danish in everyday work situations including teaching and research. Since NA is useful for connecting scales of discourse, it will additionally connect larger discourses involving internationalization to smaller-scale discourses in the classroom and involving research. Through an examination of participant experiences (historical body), interactions (interaction order) and discourses which are found in everyday life in the case department (discourses in place), NA will be used in conjunction with Innovation Theory to map out how the different elements of the nexus intersect throughout a decision process (from announcement through to post-implementation).

3.1.1 Historical Body

The first of the three factors coming together to mediate the social action is historical body. Lane (2010, p. 68), describing the role of the individual social actor within a nexus, states, "A social action takes place at a moment in time and space, and the actor has a life history that this person carries within him/her, and thus our bodies are lifetime accumulations of our actions, memories, and experiences".

Emphasis should be given to the historical body as an actual physical body: Scollon and Scollon (2004, p. 13) derive their conception of historical body from the work of Japanese philosopher Nishida (1998 [1937]). They contrast historical body with Bourdieu's (1977) concept of "habitus", by saying they "prefer *historical body* because it situates bodily memories more precisely in the individual body" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 13, italics in original). This placement of a historical body in the individual body is in opposition to the societal focus of Bourdieu's habitus; rather than social actors being socialized into the habitus associated with their social groups, each individual builds up experience and action in themselves (albeit that this building is carried out within the boundaries given by specific social group or groups in which the individual plays a part). In this way, and with a focus on the body, as well as on the mind, the historical body becomes about individual "embodied knowledge" (Blommaert, 2010, p. 6). It also becomes about habituation: "A lifetime of personal habits come to feel so natural that one's body carries out actions seemingly without being told" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 13).

In considering the historical body during a research study, Scollon and Scollon (2004, p. 160) offer a guiding question: "How did these participants all come to be placed at this moment and in this way to enable or carry out this action?" For the current study, this question is operationalized as: How did teaching staff end up at DU? and how did their past experiences and actions lead them to act in the way that they did in the department? In order

to uncover this information, it is important to speak to as many relevant participants as possible. However, it may not always be possible to speak with all relevant participants. As Dressler (2012, p. 50) points out, "some actors are invisible, such as the writers behind influential policy documents".

In this study, historical body is important because the actions and experiences that participants have had lead them to assume their present roles within the case department. These can include, but are not limited to, previous experiences teaching in languages native to them as well as languages which are not, as well as their research, qualifications they have taken, and how they remember events from their past. Non-Danish staff have experiences, as part of their historical bodies, as immigrants to Denmark, while Danish staff members may have comparable experiences of having been overseas at different points in their careers. In addition to how their historical bodies lead them to their present roles in the department, the same present roles serve to give them access to further actions and experience that will further shape their historical bodies. Understanding the complexity of these factors is essential to understanding individual members of the case department in their reactions to the case decisions.

3.1.2 Interaction Order

Individuals, each with their own historical bodies, do not exist in isolation. Rather, "actors on the stage of human life appear singly, in pairs or trios or crowds, with different roles and role expectations depending on their relationships" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 13). For the coming together of different individuals with their different historical bodies, the Scollons have adapted Goffman's (1983) term "interaction order". This refers to how individuals relate to and interact with each other in specific settings.

What is important about the concept of interaction order is how interactions change depending on who is present, and in terms of what roles participants have in relation to each other: so a member of the teaching staff at the case department will interact in a different way and behave differently when talking with fellow staff members or with students (or, outside the scope of this study, at home with family or out with friends). In this study, interaction orders were seen during observations, for example of meetings, class lectures, or in the lunch room. In interviews as well, interviewees described their interactions with colleagues, students, and other stakeholders.

Blommaert (2010, p. 8, italics in original) writes of the interaction order as "*an effect* of the dialectics between the historical body and historical space". That is to say, when social actors with particular historical bodies ("enskilled bodies" in Blommaert's formulation) find themselves together in particular discursive spaces, they will then interact with each other in particular ways. Or to put it in the context of the case department, when teaching staff with differing historical bodies find themselves in particular sites of engagement in the department such as the classroom or the meeting room, they will interact with each other in ways which are formed by both the historical bodies of all participants as well as expectations of the settings that they are in. The historical bodies, the interaction, and the setting come together to mediate the social action, which can then be viewed as "one ethnographic object of inquiry" (Blommaert, 2010, p. 8).

3.1.3 Discourses in Place

Discourses in place is the third element forming the social action. This is referred to by Blommaert (2010, p. 8) as "a space inscribed with particular conditions for communication", that is, a space into which people arrive with certain expectations. Just as

historical body is related to the actual physical bodies of individuals, so can discourses in place relate to actual physical spaces: classrooms and lecture rooms, the lunch room, inside a private or a shared office. They can also refer to virtual spaces, such as a university intranet, or to documentary objects, such as a policy memo or minutes of a meeting, or to ideological spaces. Just as the historical body involves a process of "enskilment", discourses in place involves a comparable process of "emplacement" (Blommaert, 2010; Scollon & Scollon, 2004) where particular spaces become in themselves objects of expectations on the part of social actors. In other words, they become codified patterns which can be predicted by participants and which are related to the physical settings where such discourses typically occur.

Different discourses operate on different time scales, and not all discourses in place in a given situation will have the same relevance to a given social action. The task of the researcher using NA, then, is to reveal those discourses in place at different time scales which are of direct relevance to the social action being studied. For the current study, the scale of relevant discourses will range from the level of the faculty, of the department, and of individual classrooms in the department, up to higher levels which can reveal discourses present in internationalized and internationalizing institutions of higher education on a global scale.

In analyzing this element of the triad, it is important to look at both the material presence of a space - "the built structures, furniture and decorative objects" - as well as "the discourses present in that place" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 162). A guiding question given by Scollon and Scollon for discourses in place is "What discourses in this place are central or foregrounded as crucial to the action on which you are focusing and what discourses are backgrounded?" (2004, p. 163). These would refer to discourses which participants talk about explicitly, for example, by saying that meetings are always held in a certain language, or that

they always write e-mails to colleagues based on that person's L1. As discourses can be explicit but are often implicit, that is to say, they are made invisible due to force of habit, Scollon and Scollon (2004, p. 164) add an additional question: "What discourses are 'invisible' in this action because they have become submerged in practice?" This would refer to what teaching staff take for granted, such as when a situation might be switched to another language to accommodate participants. In this study, it was important to examine both explicit discourses and implicit ones, for example, in situations where what participants say that they do is not necessarily what they actually do. An example would be when Danish staff claim to switch to English in the lunchroom when a non-Danish speaker enters a conversation, where, in reality, they might not switch right away, or at all.

In this study then, discourses in place issues are reflected in the physical spaces where department members work and teach, and in the work situations that occur in these spaces, such as lectures and meetings. They include spaces where people communicate by speaking, as well as in situations where they communicate by writing, and also include ideological spaces, for example, where views of English or Danish are to be found. They include spaces that exist at department, faculty, and university levels. Interview data reveal how expectations of what happens in certain spaces is set up by previous history in equivalent spaces.

3.2 Innovation Theory

In order to ground the analysis given by NA, another theoretical framework serves to operationalize the decision processes that are at the heart of this research. This comes about through the use of Innovation Theory (InnT).

InnT was originally conceived and described in Henrichsen (1989). It was first used to analyze efforts to change foreign language teaching in post-World War II Japan. These

innovations were not successfully adopted by the Japanese language teaching community, and InnT was meant to provide a framework for understanding why this was the case. Though not as widespread as NA, it has since been used to give an understanding of other types of (especially educational) innovations, most notably by Wall and Horák (2006, 2008, 2011) who applied the framework to the field of language testing in order to analyze the innovation of a new version of the TOEFL exam. The basis of InnT is that innovations such as policy decisions need to be understood in context. This context includes not only what happens to a new idea or process once it is implemented, but also how it came about to begin with, and the circumstances surrounding the site of innovation and into which an innovation comes about. This is summarized by Wall and Horák (2006, p. 4):

> Henrichsen's main message is that the consequences (impact) of an innovation are determined not only by its own characteristics […] but by the interaction of features in the antecedent situation (the context into which the innovation is being introduced) and a number of factors that work together (or against one another) during the process period (the time that the innovation is introduced and being tried out by the users).

In other words, by looking at antecedent features, and teasing out relevant factors in the process period, the potential for an innovation to be either adopted or rejected can be seen. In the present study, interviews with teaching staff were carried out at two different stages of an innovation process, a fact which enabled documentation of the innovation using the hybrid model. The timing of the first interviews, happening shortly after the announcement of a new innovation, allowed data to be collected related to the antecedents and process sections of the innovation process. Follow-up interviews a year later, after implementation, allowed for more process information to be collected, as well as some

indication of the consequences part of the model. In this way, with information about all stages, a full analysis can be given of the complete innovation process. Henrichsen, in particular, maps out a model of this process (overview in Figure 3.2) known as "the hybrid model", which highlights factors at each stage that are seen as directive for the outcome of any given innovation process.

Figure 3.2: Innovation Theory hybrid model overview (adapted from Henrichsen, 1989, p. 80)

The hybrid model in Figure 3.2 clearly illustrates the three stages of an innovation around which this framework is built. The first phase, "antecedents" can be seen as the baseline situation into which an innovation is introduced. "Process" refers to the introduction of the innovation, including who introduces it and how, who receives it and how, and what factors may either facilitate or hinder acceptance of changes which may result from the innovation. The final stage, "consequences" refers to the outcome of the innovation process, for example, if a change is ultimately adopted or rejected. Each stage, along with its possible realization within the case department, will be described in more detail in the following subsections.

This theoretical framework was chosen because it allowed me to analyze a decision process in the case department over time. Data were collected both immediately prior to the introduction of a set of innovations (the decisions regarding language of teaching at the department), and a year later, which gave the opportunity to both set the baseline antecedents stage and to follow up into the process stage. This also allowed me to see the extent to which the innovations might eventually be successful (by analyzing factors within the consequences

stage). The structure of later chapters reflects the data collection timeline, with Chapters 5 through 8 dealing with different phases of the InnT model.

3.2.1 Antecedents

Antecedents can be seen as the background against which an innovation is to be introduced. For example, in Henrichsen's original use of the model to discuss a language teaching innovation in post-World War II Japan, the antecedents refer to how language teaching was set up prior to the post-war period. Similarly, in Wall and Horák's (2006) TOEFL study, the teaching situation prior to the introduction of a new version of the test was examined so that later events could be appropriately contextualized. In the present study, the antecedents refer to the language situation in the case department before the implementation of the decisions, including language of instruction at the department.

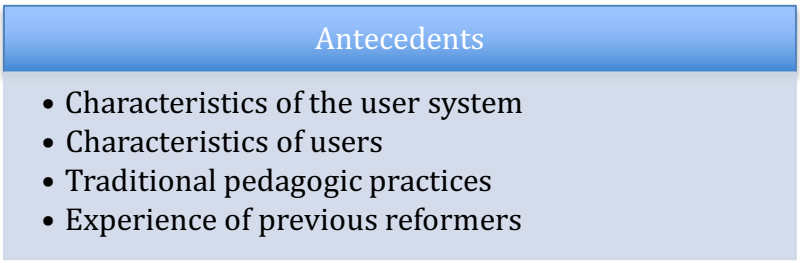

Figure 3.2.1 Antecedent section of the hybrid model (adapted from Henrichsen, 1989, p. 80)

According to Henrichsen (1989, p. 101), "[u]nderstanding antecedents is a crucial part of the process of analyzing or planning any efforts to diffuse and/or implement an educational innovation. They form the historical foundation for the conditions that a change campaign must deal with." As shown in Figure 3.2.1, the antecedent section of the hybrid model consists of four equal parts: characteristics of user system, characteristics of users, traditional pedagogic practices, and experience of previous reformers. Each of these four factors which

will be looked at in turn, along with an examination of what each factor would entail for research analyzing policy in a higher education setting.

In discussing the factor "Characteristics of the intended user system", Henrichsen (1989, p. 79) states that "[e]fforts to create change in society must take into consideration the nature of the school system and of the society in which those schools are found." In order to understand how a potential change is received in a university department, it is important to take into consideration how the department is set up, and how it fits into larger units of analysis, in other words, how it functions within a faculty, within Danish society, and within an academic field at both the national and international levels.

The users of the system are also relevant, with "Characteristics of intended users of the innovation" referring to "[i]ntended user's attitudes, values, norms, and abilities", which are said to "strongly influence the course of a diffusion/implementation effort" (Henrichsen, 1989, p. 80). For the case department, the users under study are primarily teaching staff, with extra input coming from interviews with the head of department and head of administration. Their attitudes towards and values concerning internationalization and English and Danish in academic settings are of great importance to unpacking how these innovations are received. In addition, the norms that department staff hold of how language should be used, and the ability of different staff members to carry out job duties, and to what level, in English or Danish, affects the extent to which staff are able to accept certain decisions or not.

The category of "traditional pedagogic practices" is used by Henrichsen to discuss how language had traditionally been taught historically in Japan. In my study, I am interpreting this so that it encompasses how teaching is set up in the specific case department, as well as how courses are expected to be set up. That is to say, what do teachers expect to do when they enter a classroom at DU, and additionally what can students expect to do in a

classroom. This will include what languages teachers and students expect to use or to hear in the classroom setting.

Henrichsen says of the final category "experiences of previous reformers":

> Not to be overlooked are the experiences of earlier reform efforts in the same (or a similar) socio-cultural context. A knowledge of how they achieved their successes can provide extremely valuable guidance to subsequent change campaigns. An understanding of the difficulties they encountered can alert later reformers to potentially serious problems, allowing them to take action accordingly (1989, p. 81).

In other words, decisions makers should learn from the past in order to avoid making the same mistakes (or in order to replicate successes) in the future. In the case department, the switch to more Danish at the undergraduate level was not the first language change to have taken place. In particular, permanent staff who had been in the department for more than a few years (or who were at the department earlier as students) remembered previous shifts from Danish to English. How these older shifts were perceived can illuminate how the decisions in focus might ultimately be perceived.

In this data, information on antecedents, that is on the specific baseline of the department before implementation of the innovation, comes primarily from first round interviews with teaching staff, as well as from interviews with department management and administration. How they discussed practices they participated in during their daily working life served to paint a picture of how the department was at the time of the introduction of the innovations.

3.2.2 Process

Once the baseline setting has been set up in the analysis of antecedents, the next stage of the hybrid model, process, covers issues related to the introduction and implementation of an innovation. From the point of view of the introducer of an innovation, " [i]t is important to be aware of process factors in order to determine the best way to introduce the innovation and help the receivers understand it and react appropriately to it" (Wall & Horák, 2008, p. 6). From the perspective of this study, which views an innovation from the outside, process factors are equally important in order to study how an innovation is introduced and received.

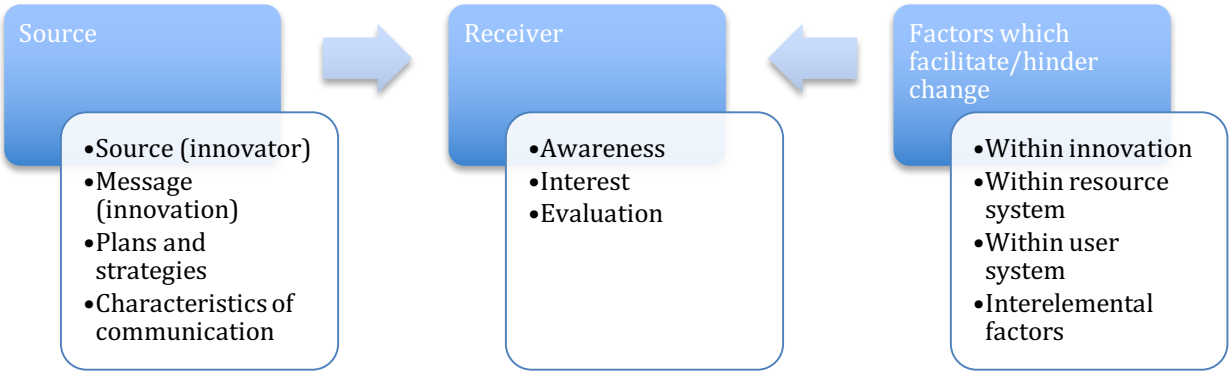

Figure 3.2.2 Process section of the hybrid model (adapted from Henrichsen, 1989, p. 80)

From Figure 3.2, the process stage can be seen as comprising three parts, each containing subparts. The first part has no overall label, but could be labeled "Source". The second part is labeled "Receiver", and the third "Factors that facilitate/hinder change". Each of these parts, and those subparts which are relevant to this study, will be described in turn. The source and receiver parts of the process section of the model are not extensively discussed in Henrichsen, apart from appearing in the model itself. Because of this, the definitions used in these sections are based primarily on Wall and Horák, (2006, in particular p. 99-105, and p. 117), and adapted to ensure appropriate connections between these terms and the issues of importance in the case department.

What I am calling the source section of the model includes four elements. Source (innovator) refers to who is responsible for the introduction of the innovation. In this study, the decisions related to language of instruction are being introduced by the Faculty of Science, which is thus the source. The Message (innovation) refers to the decision itself, what it says as well as what is implied by how it is written up. Plans and strategies I am interpreting as how the innovations (the decisions) fit into other innovations which are sent by the same source. An example in this case is how the case decisions relate to the overall language strategies of the faculty and the university. Characteristics of communication refers to how an innovation is communicated to intended users, for example in a memo sent via the department management, or in a press release. Each of these source factors is of importance when analyzing the decisions: how the source is viewed, what the message is, how the message is seen in a larger strategic context, and how the message is communicated, all contribute to the eventual acceptance or rejection of the innovation.

With a source comes a receiver: who is the source communicating with? This covers how the intended users learn about the message, either directly from the source, or indirectly from someone else who has learned from the source (or it could also be more indirect than this). In my study, this topic would cover how much teaching staff know about the innovations (awareness), whether they find the innovations relevant to their situation (interest), and what their opinions are of the innovations (evaluation). The arrow in the original hybrid model is one-way from source to receiver. However, in my interpretation for this study, an arrow could be added for communication going the other direction, for example, where members of the department respond to the innovations in the public sphere.

The final section is factors that facilitate/hinder change. This is divided into four sub-parts, “within innovation”, “within resource system”, “within user system”, and “inter elemental factors”. These four parts are extensively broken down into an additional list

(Henrichsen, 1989, p. 83) and used as the primary means of analysis of this part of the model both by Henrichsen in his analysis of English teaching in post-war Japan and Wall and Horák (2008) in their analysis of the effects of a new type of language test. As the specific terms in these lists are not always relevant to the present study, they were not utilized exactly as presented. However, the overall four factor types will be referred to in holistic terms, with specific terms used only when they are seen as relevant to the specific innovations under study.

Within the larger grouping of factors that facilitate/hinder change, within innovation refers to the decisions understood in isolation, without regard to any context. It is here that Henrichsen (1989) clearly differentiated his model from older attempts to predict or understand the results of innovation. Henrichsen (1989, p. 82) quotes Miles (1964) who states "innovations are almost never installed on their merits. Characteristics of the local system, of the innovating person or group, and of other relevant groups often outweigh the impact of what the innovation is." That is to say, older analyses of innovation focused solely on the innovation, with the idea that if it was of good enough quality, then it would naturally be accepted, are insufficient. In contrast, InnT is useful because it can reconcile that an innovation can be objectively positive, and yet still ultimately be rejected for other reasons.

The next factor, "within resource system" as described in Henrichsen (1989, p. 86) refers to how the resource system, which in both the Henrichsen study and in this study can be synonymous with the source or innovator, was able to affect the reception of the innovation. Things such as if the innovator is able to exert pressure on the receiver, or has good assistance infrastructure to aid in disseminating information about the innovation, will affect the overall outcome of an innovation. Similar qualities in the receiver group are covered in the factor category "within user system". This grouping includes a number of quite disparate features, from how centrally organized a group of receivers is, to issues of

educational philosophy. The final factor category is "inter-elemental factors" which, as the name implies, relates to factors combined from the other categories. For example, how the organization of the source or resource system matches or is at odds with the organization of the user system will have an effect on how an innovation is received.

As with the relation between "source" and "receiver" in the model, there is only one arrow going from "factors that facilitate/hinder change" to "receiver". In this case too, I would add an additional arrow going in the other direction. This would recognize that receivers can and do prioritize factors that are of greater or lesser salience to their view of an innovation, as well as adding new elements to the categories which may be specific to their particular situation.

The antecedent section of the hybrid model was largely gathered as part of first round interviews. Information about process factors was gained in both first and second round interviews, as well as in additional interviews with management and leadership. In particular, the interview with the member of faculty management gave insight into the characteristics of the faculty as innovator, and to aspects of the faculty which could factor into the acceptance or rejection of the innovations in focus.

3.2.3 Consequences

The components of the antecedents and process stages of an innovation decision together lead to the consequences part of the innovation. This is divided into two parts. The first part consists of four possible measures of how a change can take place as a result of an innovation. These are concisely summarized in Henrichsen (1989, p. 95):

The hybrid model also allows for several types of outcomes. The results of a change campaign may be either immediate or delayed - and often both. In addition, consequences may be direct (coming about in response to the innovation itself) or indirect (resulting from other consequences). Consequences may also be manifest or latent. Manifest consequences are those that are not only intended by the resource system but also recognized by members of the receiving system, whereas latent consequences may be neither recognized or intended. And finally, despite reformers' good intentions, consequences may be both functional and dysfunctional; they may have undesirable as well as desirable effects on the functioning of the user system.

In this study, second round interviews were conducted in order to uncover changes that had arisen in the first terms after implementation of the decisions. Particular attention was given to how the realities of what had changed and what appeared to stay the same matched up with what participants had expected during the process phase.

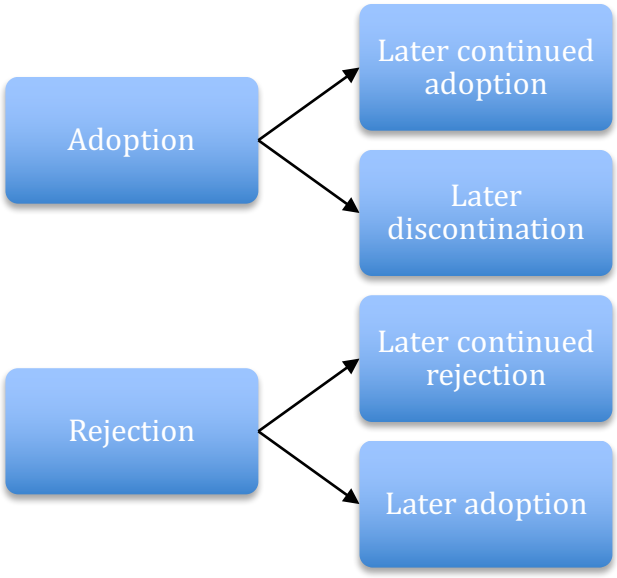

Figure 3.2.2 Consequences section of the hybrid model (partial) (adapted from Henrichsen, 1989, p. 80)

Along with the types of outcomes which may arise, the consequences part of the model also gives a map of possible paths the innovation might take towards adoption of the

innovation or rejection of it (shown in figure 3.2.3), Henrichsen (1989) does not discuss these paths; however, working definitions can be determined. At the first stage after implementation of an innovation, it can be adopted or rejected. This is not the end of the process; in either case, the decision will need to be confirmed as the right one (or as the wrong one). If an innovation is adopted, then the confirmation process is carried out as the receivers come to see the results of the adoption. This in turn might lead to continuing with the innovation, or discontinuing it. On the other hand, if an innovation is rejected, then the confirmation process is carried on as the receivers continue without the innovation, but aware of the possible changes it might have brought. This in turn might lead to adopting the process later on, or continuing to reject it.

Due to the time constraints of this study, it was not possible to analyze long-term adoption or rejection of the decisions under study. As exemplified by the Henrichsen (1989) case, where 21 years exist between the end of the period analyzed and the publishing of the report, it can take a long time to fully see the full results of an innovation. However, within the time frame available, I attempt to evaluate as much as possible what factors might lead to longer-term adoption or rejection of the changes accompanying the innovations. Doing this entails a deeper analysis of what could be considered adoption or rejection in a higher education setting such as is found at DU.

The hybrid model which forms the basis of InnT also seems geared towards examining any given innovative process as a separate entity. In reality, a factor which might lead to the adoption or rejection of an innovation could be another innovation, or more than one. In the innovation under study, other decisions made by the department, faculty, university, Danish politicians, or other relevant actors, may make this innovation irrelevant. In this study, I also aim to take such possibilities into consideration.

One final point needs to be made regarding the consequences section of the hybrid model. As with other parts of the model, there are some arrows missing in the consequences part. After the end stages of the model ("continuation", "discontinuation", "later adoption", "continued rejection") arrows should return to the confirmation stage, as innovations can never be permanent, but rather need to be reconfirmed over time. Another possibility is that whenever an innovation is adopted or rejected, the baseline is reset. This would mean that, at the endpoint of the hybrid model, one needs to go back to the beginning, where again, antecedents (the new baseline) and process (which might for example include further communication and support from the source or communication between the source and receiver, among other possibilities) would lead towards the end stages of the model listed above. This is an idea that will be further elaborated as part of the following section, which applies NA to InnT.

3.3 A Nexus Analysis of an Innovation Process

The scope of this dissertation is narrow, in that the object of study is one single set of decisions taken by one university science faculty and its effects on one department within that faculty. It is, at the same time, broad, in that it explores larger issues which have both led to and are in themselves derived from the types of decisions taken by that faculty. This combination of scale and specificity can effectively be viewed through either NA or InnT. However, the combination of NA and InnT gives more possibilities for deeply exploring both the decisions in focus and in the context in which they are situated.

NA, as cited earlier, offers "not only a close, empirical examination of the moment under analysis but also an historical analysis of these trajectories or discourse cycles that intersect in that moment as well as an analysis of the anticipations that are opened up by the

social actions taken in that moment" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 8). It allows us to study what factors have led to the decisions being made, and how the decisions themselves open up other possibilities for future social action. NA has been used to unpack the relevant "trajectories and discourse cycles". At the same time, InnT aims to contextualize decision making (or, in InnT terms, innovation) processes in order that policy makers can "increase the likelihood of success in diffusion and utilization campaigns" (Henrichsen, 1989, p. 8). While this study takes place from the vantage point of outside researcher rather than involved policy planner, the parameters set up by InnT can be used to understand the decision process as an innovation, with clearly defined criteria to examine at each phase of the innovation process from pre-introduction to post-implementation.

Before combining the two theoretical frameworks, it is first necessary to analyze any areas of overlap. On the surface, there would seem to be some agreement between NA and InnT. For example, both models can be used to look at specific happenings in time and space (called an innovation in InnT; a social action in NA). Both look to place such happenings in historical context, InnT through the stages of the hybrid model, NA by "looking at the discourses present and how they relate to past discourses and discourses which anticipate the future" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 15). However, these surface similarities cover very different theoretical foundations. While both theories fragmentize the object of focus so that it can be analyzed from different angles, InnT is primarily a historical approach, NA a more discursive one. The same is true for any temptation to map NA concepts onto specific features of the InnT model, for example to equate InnT's "experience of previous reformers" to NA's concept of historical body. The theoretical stance of each concept is different, making direct comparison unfruitful.

From the standpoint of this study however, the difference in orientation is what makes the two frameworks complementary. As pointed out in section 3.2.3, the hybrid model of

InnT, while it contains a myriad of relevant factors, appears to view innovation as a self-contained system, that is, it does not take into account that the "baseline" (to take Wall & Horák's (2006) operationalization of the antecedents section of the hybrid model) changes at each step of the innovation process. NA, which analyzes a series of social actions, including how each action influences and is influenced by other actions at other scales and times, can deepen this area of the InnT model. At the same time, InnT, by operationalizing the decision process, can ground the analysis of social actions taken by NA.

In summary, in this study, NA is used to present a department with particular relationships to the languages it uses, and argues for how the department came to be as it is, and why it seems likely to stay that way for at least the short-term future. At the core of this analysis is a set of language policy decisions related to language of instruction which intersect several major issues of interest not just to the department or the faculty being studied, but also to higher education more generally in non-English speaking countries, particularly (but certainly not only) within science departments. InnT will be used to clearly operationalize the policy decisions as a historical series of events which, in turn, will be discursively analyzed as a series of social actions, or nexus of practice, which can be unpacked with NA. In other words, this dissertation as a whole will be a nexus analysis of an innovation process.

3.4 Conclusions

This chapter has presented how NA and InnT were chosen for this study because they could be used in complementary ways. While each can be used to view the same types of data, they are not redundant. In this study, NA is used primarily to interpret patterns of language use in the case department, also making connections between language use and both

policy in the department, and with wider trends found in the case field. At the same time, InnT is used to organize the case decisions, and in so doing to enhance understanding of those decisions over time.

In the following chapter, some methodological implications of both NA and InnT will be given in order to clarify how the two theoretical frameworks were used to direct the research design, data collection, and data analysis processes. After this, chapters 5 through 8 will give a thematically organized presentation of the results of the data in connection with a discussion of the data analysis. These four chapters are divided based on the three sections of the InnT hybrid model. Chapters 5 and 6 cover the antecedents section, with Chapter 5 analyzing language use outside of the classroom setting before the implementation of the case decisions, and Chapter 6 focusing on language use within the classroom. Chapter 7 covers the process section of the hybrid model, and Chapter 8 covers the consequences section, and contains an additional discussion of trends that might influence future decisions related to language of instruction in the case department.

Chapter 4:
Methods

This study set out to explore a decision process and the effects of those decisions involving language of instruction in a Danish university science department. In order to gain a full understanding of these effects, it was first necessary to understand language use and decision making in relation to language of instruction within the department, including how teaching staff oriented to language of instruction issues. With these matters in mind, the following research questions guided the project:

1) How did department teaching staff report using English and Danish in work situations?

2) How did teaching staff and students report using English and Danish in classroom situations?

3) How were decisions related to language of instruction made at the faculty level, and at the department level, and how did the two levels influence each other?

4) How did teaching staff expectations in relation to the case decisions affect how the decisions were implemented in the department?

To answer these questions, data were collected related to language use and decision making in the case department. This chapter presents a detailed view of how this research was carried out, including the methodological frameworks and the research design.

The chapter starts with describing how the research was framed within a qualitative case study model as well as describing and justifying how Nexus Analysis (NA) and

Innovation Theory (InnT) were used in this project (in section 4.1). For this section, focus is on how the choice of methodology and theory influenced data collection and analysis.

The following sections cover the research design. As mapped in out in Mackey and Gass (2005), any overview of research design should incorporate discussion of the research paradigm chosen, which is done in section 4.1 It should also include "sufficient detail in order to increase [the research design's] verisimilitude (i.e., authenticity and credibility)" Along with information about the data instruments used (described in 4.1.4), this includes information about the participants and setting (in section 4.2), as well as that about data collection procedures (in section 4.3) and data analysis (in section 4.4), including information about how data were handled, as well as how they were categorized and coded. Section 4.5 covers addition areas where further consideration is needed, including sections on the limitations and strengths of this project, ethical considerations, and issues of validity and reliability. It also includes reflections on my own role as a researcher acting within the case department and faculty. Finally, section 4.6 summarizes and ties together the chapter as a whole.

4.1 Methodological Approach

This is a qualitative case study which is theoretically grounded within the two complementary frameworks of NA and InnT, and both the approach and the theoretical frameworks will be addressed in this section. Both the case study approach and the two theoretical frameworks have implications for the research design, including types of data collected, and the process of data collection and analysis; 4.1.4 discusses the research instruments used in relation to the methodology, with other aspects of research design covered later in the chapter.

4.1.1 Qualitative Case Study Approach

The goal of this study was to understand the interlocking effects of policy and practice on a specific unit, that of a university department. In order to best reach this goal, and based on the focus of study and the data that I was able to access, I have chosen to use a qualitative case study approach (as described in, e.g. Yin, 2009; Stake, 1995; Flyvbjerg, 2011; Casanave, 2015).

A case study is defined by Merriam (2010, p. 456) as "an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system". Because the system being analyzed is bounded, it is clear what constitutes the case and what does not. In this study, the bounded unit of analysis is a specific department within a specific period of time seen from the perspective of teaching staff within that department during that time period, and it is clear what does or does not fall within those boundaries. The case is furthermore set in a specific context which is "particular and delineated" and which needs to be taken into account during the research process (Casanave, 2015, p. 120).

Qualitative case studies can be categorized in relation to factors such as the researcher's motives in carrying out the research or the number of bounded focal points there are of a particular study. For example, Stake (1995) describes three types of case study: intrinsic, where the case in itself is interesting to the researcher; instrumental, where the case provides opportunity to understand larger issues or phenomena; and collective, where more than one case is studied. In this study, although the case is interesting in itself, it falls into the instrumental category as the main purpose of doing the study is to analyze particular phenomena – the shifting of medium of instruction either towards or away from English – in a way that might possibly have interest and shed light on other contexts where similar moves are taking place. Although the collection of data at two different points in the language policy implantation process can be seen as giving additional characteristics of a collective case

study, as only one department is focused on, and as not equal types and amounts of data were gathered at each stage (with more being collected in the first phase), I consider this to be a single instrumental case study.

Although case studies can make use of qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods and data, this study is a qualitative one. According to Merriam (2010, p. 457) case studies are qualitative when they focus on "how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences", when the researcher is the "the primary instrument of data collection and analysis", when the research process is inductive, and when the findings are presented in a descriptive way, using words rather than numbers. This fits in how the present study was carried out in all respects: focus was on how teaching staff understand language policy and language practice with the case department, I as researcher conducted all stages of the research process in an inductive way, and this resulting monograph focuses primarily on the words of interviewees.

The research process used in qualitative case study research is inductive, using data from interviews, observations, and documents to reveal themes and ideas that might be generalizable (Merriam, 2010, p. 457). This in its strong form would imply that theory could only arise from the data. Yet at the same time, the interpretation of data with reference to external theories can give added depth to the analysis process and lead to a more rigorous finished product. With this in mind, this study has utilized two theoretical frameworks: NA and InnT. These will be discussed and tied to the case study approach in the following two sub-sections.

4.1.2 Nexus Analysis

The discursive approach which characterizes NA was developed originally for use in ethnographic research. However, while NA is strongly associated with ethnography, no feature of NA restricts its use solely to this area. Rather NA has been used to good effect in different types of qualitative research; for example, in a linguistic landscape analysis of an Arctic region (Pietikäinen et al., 2011), a case study of medium of instruction policy in Cambodian higher education (Chan, 2016), and a case study of language policy formulation at a Swedish university (Källkvist & Hult, 2016; Hult, 2015). Because of its conceptual depth, and because of how it had been used in language policy research (such as for the research which led to the Källkvist & Hult study listed above, and Bhalla, 2012), it seemed a natural choice also for this study.

NA as described by Scollon and Scollon (2004) includes an explicitly described process to guide the researcher, in an appendix entitled "A practical fieldguide for nexus analysis" (p. 152-178). This appendix sets out a step-by-step guide for using NA as part of ethnographic research; however other types of research using NA such as those listed above can also utilize the fieldguide to ensure that key features of the model are represented. In discussing the fieldguide, it is relevant to look at the explicitly stated methodology set out there in order to identify how it has influenced this project, how I have oriented to this process, and which elements have and which have not been followed exactly as part of this study. Two areas are of particular interest: the three phases into which the Scollons divide the ethnographic process and the types of data which they see as essential to ensure validity for the NA-based inquiry. Both of these are discussed in relation to the current project.

Scollon and Scollon (2004) view the research process as being split into three consecutive stages: engaging, navigating and changing the nexus of practice. Engagement is seen as happening before the collection of any data. The researcher is to use this stage to get

to know the place and people being studied, in order to identify relevant social practices, including recognizing key social actors, interaction orders and discourse cycles (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 154). It also involves becoming both recognized as a participant and knowledgeable as an observer. As part of this qualitative case study, I did not go through the full practice of engaging the nexus of practice in the case department. However, this does not mean that nothing analogous to this process took place. In particular, my earlier experience working in a Danish university setting, and especially my earlier teaching work with the Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use (CIP), which provides language support for staff at the University of Copenhagen, enabled me to take part in projects which provided language for teaching support. My experience teaching courses and leading other activities had provided me with the opportunity to receive insights and reflections related to language use in the classroom and in the daily working lives of participants from a range of academic fields, including from science departments very similar to the case department. This contact served as a pathway into the case department. Early interviews with department leadership, where I received permission to interview staff and to observe courses given in the department, also served as a way of calibrating my own understanding of what goes on in science departments in Danish universities with the understanding of department members.

Following researcher engagement, the next step of nexus analysis is navigating the nexus of practice. This involves mapping the various social practices in order to reveal a full discursive picture of the social action or practice being researched. This stage is where most of the data collection took place: interviews, observations, and written documents constituted my own way of navigating the nexus of practice of the case department.

As a final phase, the Scollons refer to changing the nexus of practice. In their work, they refer to their own efforts to bring about change, stating that "[i]n many cases, these changes worked very well, in some cases they went seriously awry, but in all cases, the

changes that took place were largely not predictable" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 139). In my study, there are clear implications for policy and practice at both department and faculty level. However, I have not tried to effect such change at either level through any direct action.

At the same time, this study does have the effect of changing the nexus of practice in two ways. Firstly, the act of being in the department researching language policy could well have the effect of raising interest and/or awareness of language policy issues. For example, at the time of the second set of interviews, one participant indicated that the questions I had asked in the first interview had inspired him to pay more attention to his own language use in the classroom. This type of increased self-reflection could have the effect of bringing about change. More directly, this study also changes the nexus of practice in the way described by Scollon and Scollon (2004, p. 178) at the end of the fieldguide: "By your actions of analysis you are altering trajectories for yourself and for the others in the nexus of practice and that in itself is producing social change". In this way, this study, as disseminated, for example through this monograph, is in itself changing the nexus.

Along with the three suggested phases of NA research, Scollon and Scollon (2004, p. 158) indicate a need for four types of data in order to ensure "a well triangulated and carefully comparative study". These four types are "members' generalizations", "neutral (objective) observations", "individual experience", and "interactions with members". Each of these types of data was collected as part of this project. In particular, interviews gave participants the opportunity to describe and discuss their own working practices and those of the department (members' generalizations). They also had the opportunity to discuss their own individual experiences with regards to language use within the department (individual experience). Observations were made of lectures and other work situations (neutral observations). It was not always possible to carry out member interactions, by which I mean

interaction between researcher and participant in order to reconcile any perceived mismatches in other areas. However, in those cases where I was able to interview a participant more than once, or to observe a lesson given by a previously interviewed participant, such action was possible.

4.1.3 Innovation Theory

The decision to use InnT methodologically relates to NA's focus on changing the nexus of practice. Although I am not myself a policy-maker, the findings of this research could potentially inform policy, both at DU and at other institutions of higher learning which are facing the challenges of setting medium of instruction. At the same time, this is an applied linguistics-based and educational sociolinguistics-based study, and I do not presume that policy makers are conversant in these areas.

In order to make the findings of this study more accessible, I thus decided to combine NA with another framework which would be more accessible to policy makers. InnT is not the only framework available for discussing how an innovation like a decision gets implemented (or not); for example, Rogers (1983) presents the diffusion of innovations theory, analyzing patterns of elements which can affect how innovations might be spread over time. InnT has elements which can be linked to Roger's theory (and Henrichsen, 1989 cites earlier work by Rogers, though not his 1983 book). However, InnT adds an element of accessibility with it's clearly delineated three stages. For this reason, I chose to use this in conjunction with NA.

Unlike NA, InnT does not naturally imply a particular methodological approach. However, it does have methodological implications. In particular, what is important is that information be obtained at the different key stages of the innovation process, rather than how

such data may be gathered. However, the need to have information from different time periods can be seen in projects which utilize InnT. Here I will overview two approaches taken from the literature related to InnT, that of Henrichsen (1989) which first mapped out the theory and its accompanying hybrid model, and Wall and Horák (2006, 2008, 2011) who applied the hybrid model to a study of language testing innovation. The InnT approach used in this project will then be described.

Henrichsen (1989), who first introduced the hybrid model approach to studying innovation, notably does not discuss the methods used to trace the innovation process which attempted to reform English language teaching in post-World War II Japan. However, he appears to have used an exclusively archival approach, using available written documents to describe English education in Japan at different stages in the reform efforts. As the present project has focused primarily on "live" data, methods focusing on archival data would not have been appropriate.

Wall and Horák have been the most notable in their use of and extension of Henrichsen's work, in their application of the hybrid model to examine the introduction of a new type of TOEFL exam, and its effects in Eastern Europe (2006, 2008, 2011). They, like Henrichsen (1989), utilize written documents, especially those published by the developers of the TOEFL exam. Unlike Henrichsen, who was looking at events occurring years earlier than the time of writing, Wall and Horák were able to combine different types of data, including interviews and classroom observations, which enabled them to give a richer description of what went into the different phases of the hybrid model.

Each of the three publications arising from Wall and Horák's investigation covered a different phase of the innovation process. The 2006 report, "The Baseline Study", included the antecedents phase of the hybrid model, together with the source and message sections of the process section (both of which are classified for our purposes as being in the "source" part

of the process section) (Wall & Horák, 2006, p. 6). Subsequent reports presented similar studies for the remaining process stage (Wall & Horák, 2008) and the consequences phase (Wall & Horák, 2011). As with Henrichsen (1989), what characterized the reports as a whole was the attention paid to each phase of the hybrid model; that is, data only for one time period would not have provided sufficient coverage of the complete process.

As the current project was concerned with the different stages of the innovation process set in motion by the case decisions, focus was put on data at different stages of the innovation process. As with Wall and Horák, interviews and observations were used together to understand what was happening in the case department at more than one time period. By doing this, it is possible to use the hybrid model to portray the baseline situation of the department, elements related to how the decisions were implemented, and possible consequences including potential adoption or rejection of the case decisions. Ideally, another round of interviews would have been carried out to further flesh out the "consequences" section of the hybrid model. Time constraints, however, prevented this step.

4.1.4 Data Collection Instruments

In case study research, while any type of data may be collected and analyzed, data are typically "collected over time, in some depth, and from a limited number of people and settings" (Casanave, 2015, p. 123-124). This has been done for this study, with multiple types of data collected over a time span, from a set group of stakeholders from the case department. For NA and InnT as well, data collection is best when a variety of data collection instruments are used. For NA, different instruments allow the researcher to collect all the four types of data that are seen as essential for a well-triangulated study (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 158). For InnT, collecting different types of data at key points in the innovation process likewise

leads to better triangulation as well as to a fuller understanding of how the process unfolds. This section presents a justification for the data collection instruments chosen, in particular tying them together within the theoretical frameworks of NA and InnT. Three main data collection instruments were used: semi-structured interviews, classroom and meeting observations, and an analysis of selected written documents. Each type was intended to give complementary data at key points in the innovation process, and each one will be discussed in turn.

The primary data used for this project was the individual semi-structured interview. Interviews are used to "investigate phenomena that are not directly observable" (Mackey & Gass, p. 173). In this project objects of investigation included expectations about the case decisions and perceived decision making in the case department. A semi-structured format was chosen. This ensured coverage of preset topics while at the same time still allowing either interviewees to elaborate or the researcher to pose follow-up questions to be asked if these emerged as salient.

From the perspective of NA, interviews allowed participants to describe their individual experience, as well as to make generalizations about working and decision-making practices within the case department as a whole. From the perspective of InnT, interviews carried out at different points in the innovation process allowed participants the chance to reflect upon the target innovation. In the first interview, a background picture was created of language use of the department and of specific interviewees. The follow-up interviews looked at the extent to which the decisions might have affected this language use picture. Additionally, interviews elicited expectations about the decisions both before and after implementation.

Additional data were collected through selected observations. In contrast to interviews, which provided interviewees' own accounts of topics such as language use,

observations allowed for a more direct view of how language was used in specific situations such as the classroom or in meetings. While observations are a rich source of information, Mackey and Gass (2005, p. 176) point out that observed behavior does not give insight into the motivations behind the behavior. For this reason, observations are used to supplement and complement the interviews rather than being used as a primary source in themselves.

Finally, written documents were used to obtain additional detail. Available documents were used primarily to build a timeline of the innovation process. They also served to add detail to interview data, for example, when an event mentioned by an interviewee can be traced through relevant documents.

4.2 Selection and Recruitment Procedures

This section presents the overall selection and recruitment procedures for both the interviews (section 4.2.1) and the observations (4.2.3). Participant profiles are also given (section 4.2.2).

4.2.1 Participant Selection and Recruitment Procedure

The first step of participant selection was department selection. Originally, I had planned to interview staff and observe teaching in two departments, one in the sciences, and one in the humanities or social sciences. Through my academic network, I was given contacts at DU in two departments. In one of these, in the humanities faculty, I was unable to arrange a meeting with department leadership. I was able to arrange access to the other department, in the science faculty, one of several very large departments to be found in the Faculty of Science at DU, comprising over 100 researchers plus several dozen PhD students. This then

became the case department.

As a first step after the department had been selected, I met with the head of the department to obtain permission to interview staff members. This was granted, with the suggestion that I also talk to the director of studies, which I then did. These two interviews were not recorded, as the intention was solely to gain formal access to the department. At the meeting with the director of studies, I was given the names of two members of teaching staff who had a reputation as vocal proponents of different sides of the issues which seemed (to the director of studies) potentially relevant – to put it simply, one was particularly in favor of, and one particularly against increased internationalization and increased use of English in the department (including in teaching). These were the first two participants who were formally interviewed.

At this point, it was time to interview other members of the teaching staff. In order to get a representative sampling of the views of the department as a whole, a randomly ordered list was created of the departmental teaching staff (using an Excel list of all teaching staff, which was then randomized using the random sequence generator found at https://www.random.org/sequences/). Interview requests were sent to the first thirty people from that list, once the following criteria had been taken into account. Fourteen of the thirty accepted an interview, which represents a 46.7% response rate. Sixteen interviews in all were thus conducted (including the first two teaching staff interviews). This means that approximately 10% of research staff in the department (including PhD students) were interviewed.

In assembling the list of possible participants, certain criteria were followed. Firstly, at the start of the project, I was most interested in examining language policy in relation to teaching and to research. For this reason, only research and teaching staff were included. The top 30 names on the random ordered list included one of the key interviewees whom I had

already spoken with, so his name was removed. It also included the names of some emeritus faculty. However, as I was interested in what was happening in the department at the present, it was decided to take out all names of faculty who were not currently active in the department. The list was next analyzed to ensure that it included possible interviewees at different levels of the university hierarchy, including PhD students, postdocs, and permanent staff. It was also checked to ensure that both Danish and non-Danish participants were represented. This was done through the use of Danish and non-Danish names on the list, as well as checking the university web pages for individual researchers to gain clues about their country of origin, looking, for example, at where people completed their undergraduate education or where they started their teaching career.

The goal of the second round of interviews was to compare expectations of the decisions with the actual effects of those decisions once implemented. To get the best comparison, 15 of the first-round interviewees were invited for a second interview (one of the original 16, a postdoc, was no longer at the university and so was not contacted). Of these, it was possible to meet and interview 12: 8 members of permanent staff, 2 postdocs, 1 PhD student, and 1 visiting researcher.

Four additional interviews were scheduled and arranged separately. After the first round of interviews, during transcribing and preliminary analysis of transcript data, it became clear that interviews with both department leadership and department administration could add useful information. At this point, requests for interview were sent to the head of department and director of studies, whom I had spoken to at the beginning of the project, but not officially, and also to the head of administration. The director of studies declined to speak with me; the head of department and head of administration agreed and were interviewed. As analysis continued, it became possible to conduct additional interviews with two teachers (not employed directly by the department) charged with providing Danish training to non-Danish

L1 staff within the department; the two teachers chose to be interviewed together. This was the only group interview conducted as part of this project. It was also the only interview not conducted entirely in English. I asked questions mainly in English, but with some code-switching into Danish, and the two teachers answered in Danish. A final interview was conducted with a member of management at the faculty level.

4.2.2 Participant Profiles

The main participants for this study were research and teaching staff at the department. To enable anonymity, each participant has been given a pseudonym. The rest of the information given below is unchanged and refers to the moment of the first interview.

Table 4.2.2 gives general information about each of the teaching staff interviewed. This includes their pseudonyms as well as their gender, job position in the department, country of origin, their Danish language proficiency level (from elementary proficiency through to having Danish as an L1), and length of time they had been at Denmark University. This also shows which participants were interviewed in both interview rounds, and which were just interviewed in the first round. The 30 randomly selected VIP staff with whom I requested interviews included 6 women and 24 men, which matched the approximate gender make-up of the department. Of these, the actual group of participants consisted of only 1 woman and 15 men (including the two non-randomly selected participants who were first interviewed), meaning that the percentage of interviewed women was lower than the percentage of women in the department.

There were 10 members of permanent staff at the associate professor or full professor level, as well as 6 temporary staff members, including 4 postdocs, 1 PhD student, and 1 visiting guest professor. Aside from the one Danish PhD student, all permanent staff

participants were Danish, and all temporary staff participants were non-Danish. Attempts were made to broaden these two groups, by inviting non-Danish members of permanent staff to interview; however, none of these led to extra interviews. While this is unfortunate, the point could be made that the split in participants is representative of the department as a whole, and that interviewing both of these groups sheds light on how different groupings of the department view each other.

Table 4.2.2: Interviewed teaching staff profiles

Name	Gender	Position	Nationality	Danish language level	Approximate Length of Time at DU*	Number of Interviews
Anders	M	Associate Professor	Danish	L1	5 months	2
Andreas	M	Associate Professor	Danish	L1	22 years	2
Casper	M	Professor	Danish	L1	25 years	1
Christoffer	M	Professor	Danish	L1	15 years	2
Dieter	M	Guest Professor	German	Intermediate	1 year	2
Fernanda	F	Postdoc	Spanish	Intermediate	18 months	2
James	M	Postdoc	Australian	Elementary	1 year	1
Jeppe	M	Professor	Danish	L1	30 years	1
Jesper	M	Professor	Danish	L1	4 years	2
Jørgen	M	Associate Professor	Danish	L1	12 years	2
Kjeld	M	Professor	Danish	L1	More than 40 years	2
Mads	M	Professor	Danish	L1	1 year	2
Marco	M	Postdoc	Swiss	Elementary	4 years	1
Maarten	M	Postdoc	Dutch	Elementary	18 months	2
Rasmus	M	Associate Professor	Danish	L1	1 year	2
Simon	M	PhD Fellow	Danish	L1	7 years	2

*This was continuous time at the department as either graduate student or staff. Teaching staff who had left for another institution and then come back were counted from their most recent arrival to the department.

Interviews also took place with five people involved in decision making and/or language at the department or faculty. From within the department, this included the head of the department and the head of administration. An additional interview was held with two

instructors from outside the department who were responsible for planning and teaching courses in Danish in the department for non-Danish staff. In this instance, the two instructors were interviewed together. Finally, it was possible to interview someone in a leadership position at the faculty level. In contrast to interviews with teaching staff, these additional stakeholders were each interviewed only once. All of these additional interviewees were Danish L1 speakers.

4.2.3 Observation Selection and Recruitment Procedure

Along with interviews, I conducted three types of observations. The primary observations were of lectures and exercise classes. Additionally, I observed one formal meeting and one lunch discussion. How these observations were determined is described here.

As with the interviews, the course observations also involved a process of selection and recruitment, with each type of observation being selected in a slightly different way. In order to maintain the anonymity of the case department, specific information related to the courses (for example names of courses) will not be given; however, the general process of selecting and recruiting will be described.

The primary goal in selecting observations was to get a range of courses. In particular, I wanted to observe both undergraduate and *kandidat* level classes. As I was making observations after the implementation of the case decisions, I wanted to observe both courses which conformed to the language rules, that is undergraduate classes given in Danish and master's level courses given in English, as well as courses which did not conform to the language rules, that is undergraduate classes given in English and master's level courses given in Danish. I was also interested in observing both lectures and exercise classes.

In order to observe in an efficient way, all lecture observations were conducted in a two-week period in the Autumn term of 2013, with exercise classes observed the following week. I selected what to observe first by reading through all courses offered by the case department in that two-week period and making a master schedule of all observation possibilities. For each possible course, I recorded the level of the course (undergraduate or master's level), and the language of instruction. There were no master's level courses being given in Danish. However, there were multiple courses which aligned with the language of instruction rules, plus two undergraduate courses being given in English. While not part of my original observation goals, I also noted that one of the undergraduate courses being offered in Danish was being offered by a non-Danish L1 member of permanent staff. As I had been unable to interview anyone from this group, I also flagged this class as being of particular interest. As a final step, I then arranged a possible schedule of observations including all different language/level combinations, in such a way that I could observe several courses in each of the two weeks.

As a result of this process, I sent e-mails to the instructors of 9 lectures asking to observe a lesson during the two-week period, either on a specific date, or in some instances, on one of two or three dates. I received positive responses from almost all the main instructors (one person did not respond to the e-mail) and observed a total of 8 class sessions over the two weeks. From this I was able to observe courses at both the undergraduate level (in English and in Danish, including one in Danish given by a non-Danish L1 lecturer) and graduate level (in English). Although I was not aiming to either observe people I had interviewed or people I had not previously seen, I ended up with a mix. Three of the observed lectures were given by members of permanent staff whom I had interviewed (and in two cases, with participants whom I then interviewed a second time), while the other classes observed were taught by people I did not otherwise talk to during the course of the project.

In addition to lectures, I was able to observe three exercise sessions. One, as noted above, was attached to an observed lecture. I also asked several instructors after my observation if there were exercise courses that I could observe. Due to the timeline of the courses, this wasn't always possible. I was able to observe two exercise sessions corresponding to one of the observed lectures in the week following the primary observations. The two sessions occurred at the same time; they were 2 hours long, and I spent an hour observing each session, changing section at the mid-point break.

For the non-classroom observations, the selection process was less elaborate. The meeting I observed was at the invitation of the head of administration, as I had asked if I could observe how meetings functioned. The lunchroom situation was at the invitation of one of my first contacts in the case department.

4.3 Data Collection Procedures

There were three types of data collected: interviews, observations, and documents related to the case decisions. This section will overview why and how these methods were used in the project. The timeline of when each type of data was collected is given below in table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Dates of data collection

Type of data	Semester collected
Interviews – round 1	Spring, 2013
Interviews – round 2	Spring, 2014
Interviews – additional	Autumn, 2013; Autumn 2014 (faculty level interview)
Observations – classroom	Autumn, 2013
Observations – other	Autumn, 2013 (meeting)
Documents	Ongoing

4.3.1 Interviews

As shown in the timeline in 4.3, interviews took place in three stages (round 1, round 2, and additional interviews taking place in two separate semesters). The general procedures were the same for all. Interviews were conducted in the department or faculty buildings. Most interviews were held in the individual participant's office; postdocs and the PhD student, as they worked in shared offices, booked meeting rooms or similar locations where we could speak uninterrupted. The faculty interview and the interview with the Danish teachers were also held in meeting rooms booked by the interviewees. Interviews were audio recorded using the iPhone application iTalk (Griffin Technology: Nashville). This was chosen because I had used it previously, knew how to operate it, and was comfortable using it. This made it a reliable choice. While participants knew they were being recorded, the app was quick enough to use that starting it was not an overly intrusive process. The clarity of the recordings was generally high; and the few disruptions in the recordings were due to background noise (for example, from the hallway outside the interview location) rather than from any problems with the app, and did not lead to problems when transcribing.

First round interviews ranged in length from 10 minutes to 66 minutes, with a total time for the 16 interviews of 8 hours, 43 minutes, and an average time of 32 and a half minutes per interviewee. On average, permanent staff interviews were longer than non-permanent staff interviews (average time for permanent staff, 38 minutes; for non-permanent staff, 24 minutes). Interviews with Danes (all permanent staff participants plus the PhD student), who were the only ones interviewed who would also have teaching duties in Danish, were on average longer compared to interviews with non-Danes (average time for Danes, 38 and a half minutes; for non-Danes, 20 minutes). These differences could be explained in part because Danish speakers used both Danish and English in their daily working lives, so that explaining their language use on the job took longer.

Second round interviews were generally shorter. They ranged in length from 7 minutes to 29 minutes, with a total time for the 12 interviews of 3 hours and 49 minutes, and an average time of 19 minutes per interview. Again, permanent staff interviews were longer than non-permanent staff (average time for the former, 22 minutes; 13 minutes for the latter). Interviews with Danes were again longer than interviews with non-Danes (average time for Danes, 22 minutes; for non-Danes, 11 minutes).

For each of the interviews, a semi-structured format was used. As mentioned before, this guaranteed broad coverage of topics related to the overall focus of the project, while at the same time allowing for interviewees to digress if desired, and for me to ask follow-up questions which might have seemed salient to me at any given time. For the first round interviews, each interviewee was asked questions in the same general areas. Topics included basic background information: position and length of time at DU, and what languages they had knowledge of. They were then asked questions relating their languages with their current work duties in the case department. This included which languages they used for different work tasks, for example, formal speaking situations, informal speaking situations, written correspondence, teaching, and research. I then asked interviewees how it was decided what languages they would teach in, or were qualified to teach in. As part of this, they were asked to give their understanding of the general level of English and Danish for students and colleagues at the department as well as how decisions were made at the department more generally.

The final first round questions related to parallel language use. I asked each interviewee if they had heard of the term, what they thought it meant, and how they thought it might be used or not used in the case department. In almost every case, interviewees had not heard the term, or had noticed it in the signature line of my e-mail, but did not know what it meant. The responses to these questions varied too much to use the responses systematically;

however, answers to the questions often added information to other areas discussed earlier in the interviews.

It must be noted that I did not bring up the case decisions explicitly in the first interviews. However, as the interviews progressed, I noted that interviewees were bringing the subject up themselves, usually when discussing the languages they used for teaching. When I noted that, I started asking specifically about the decisions in cases where interviewees did not bring up the subject themselves. When interviewees were discussing the case decisions, I asked what they thought of the decisions, and why they thought the decisions had been made.

For second round interviews, held a year later than the first, I was primarily interested in hearing what changes, if any, might have taken place in the year after implementation of the case decisions. In order to get this information, I asked again for an overview of what work tasks took place in what language. I also asked specifically what courses had been taught since the first interview, and depending on the answer, I asked how the case decisions might have influenced individual courses. Again, the semi-structured interview format enabled me to become aware of an issue that I had not considered, namely the presence of non-Danish L1 speaking students in Danish language undergraduate courses. As this was becoming a salient issue, I began to ask instructors who had taught courses in Danish about the presence of non-Danish L1 speaking students in their specific classrooms.

For the additional interviews with department staff, specifically the head of department and the head of administration, the first part of the interview, as with the first round interviews, was background about their job and languages, followed by an overview of the languages they used in different work areas. At this point, the interviews diverged from that of teaching staff. For the head of department, additional topics were: how decisions were made within the department; and the relationship between the department and the faculty.

Another topic for discussion was how it was decided who would teach in what language, as well as how Danish training was being provided to interested temporary staff, and the head of department's vision for this training. For the head of administration, additional topics related to the use of both Danish and English together in written communication as well as the goals for the overall level of English for administrative staff in the case department.

For interviews with those outside the department, that is for the Danish teachers and the faculty interviewee, background questions about language were not asked. For the Danish teachers, the main topics were specific information about the training being provided to the case department, as well as its overall goals. Three topics were covered with the faculty interviewee: the organization and decision-making process at the faculty; the relationship and communication between the faculty and departments within the faculty; and specific information relating the first two topics to the case decisions.

4.3.2 Observations

Three different types of language use situations within the department were observed: lecture classes, exercise classes, and formal meetings. For the observations themselves, I attended the entire class or lecture. Observations were for the most part 2 hours long, with one being 90 minutes, and one being three hours. One of the two-hour lectures was followed by a one-hour exercise session with the same lecturer, which I also observed. As most classes were quite large, I was able to attend without attracting attention. Observations were not recorded. I took notes about the style of the course (lecture or interaction) and language use, during the classes as well as right before and after the classes, and during breaks. One class was small enough that the instructor opted to introduce me as someone looking at language and at the instructor rather than at the students.

As with the lectures, I made notes of interaction and language use for each of the exercise sessions. In this case also, my presence was noted by class participants. In the meeting, my presence was mentioned by the person leading the meeting, but after that, my participation was limited to listening and note-taking.

4.3.3 Written Documents

Primary data sources for this project were interviews and classroom observations. Written documentation was additionally collected to supplement this data. These documents came from four sources: the university as a whole, the faculty, the case department, and the university press. General searching of the appropriate sites led to relevant articles regarding the news about the decisions in the university press. Documentary data of the case decision process, mainly in the form of minutes from the meetings of relevant boards at the faculty, were found through a search of the DU intranet, combined with additional documents sent from faculty or department sources. Information about the case department language policy over time was provided by a key person in the case department.

Over the course of the project, documents relating to the case decisions or to rules and regulations related to language use and language of instruction were collected. In all 12 key relevant documents were found. These are listed in table 4.3.3. Table 4.3.3 gives information about each document which had relevance to discussions of language policy, language of instruction, or to the case decisions. This includes an identifying number for each document, the year in which it was written, the level at which it was written (e.g. university, faculty, or department), the language in which it was written (in two cases, two language versions were available), and a short description.

It must be noted that all not all documents mentioned in print sources could be located. For example, one of the news articles speaks of the case decisions and says that they were the result of a decision made at the end of 2012. However, I was not able to find, nor were contacts at the department or faculty able to provide, documents dating from 2012. The documents that I was able to access, though, relate to language policy in relation to language of instruction both before and after implementation of the case decisions, and enable the specifics of the case decisions to be determined.

Table 4.3.3: List of Analyzed documents

Document #	Year	Level	Language	Description
01	2012	University	Danish/English	Strategy document
02	2012	Faculty	Danish/English	Faculty of Science strategy document
03	2012	Department	English	Case department strategy document
04	2011	Faculty	Danish	Faculty-level Rules for education at bachelor's/*kandidat* level
05	2013	Faculty	Danish	Faculty-level Rules for education at bachelor's/*kandidat* level
06	2013	Department	Danish	Minutes from study board meeting
07	2013	Department	Danish	Minutes from study board meeting
08	2013	Faculty	Danish	Minutes from study board coordinator meeting
09	2013	Faculty	Danish	Minutes from study board coordinator meeting
10	2010	Department	Danish	Letter to faculty leadership
11	2013	--	Danish	Article in university newspaper
12	2013	--	Danish	Article in university newspaper

4.4 Data Analysis

This section outlines how the data analysis took place. This occurred both as the data was being collected and following on from there through the write-up stage. The first stage of analysis was done from the first interview transcripts, and led to a system of codes which

then became themes from which the thematic chapters (chapters 5-8) were based. Observations were not coded separately from the interviews, but were used to complement the interview data. Analysis of each of these elements, including an overview of the coding categories, is found here.

4.4.1 Analysis of Interviews

Data analysis centered primarily on the interview data. The first step was to make usable transcripts from the recordings. This was done using the software program Express Scribe (NCH Software: Canberra), which enabled the recordings to be slowed down, and which provided shortcuts to rewinding the recordings. Recordings were transcribed fully in order that all spoken information could be available for analysis. The interviews were transcribed broadly; that is, focus was on content rather than specific linguistic features. This means that some repetitions and false starts were taken out, and some grammatical irregularities were also changed.

First round analyses were done on first round interview data using pencil and paper, underlining lines and phrases which seemed relevant for any reason. Further coding was then done using NVivo for Mac (at that point in a beta version, later in an officially released version). These first analyses were accompanied by holistic memos, where I would read through the first round transcripts and note overall patterns emerging through the data. This was an iterative process, with the specific NVivo codes evidencing possible global patterns, and the more global holistic memos indicating possible future specific codes.

After the first round of analysis, 102 codes (called ‘nodes’ in NVivo) emerged. Many of these were similar in nature, for example, ‘no incentive to learn Danish’ and ‘English postdoc ghetto’, both referring to the same phenomenon of postdocs not having the

opportunity to use Danish in their working lives. Other codes were deemed not relevant to the global picture, such as codes referring to the university press. The large number of codes was becoming unmanageable, which limited the impact they could have on the overall memo making process. At this point, the most recent round of global memos was used to develop 5 broad categories, with a number of possible sub-categories. Further coding was then carried out using these categories. During this stage, the sub-categories were modified into their final form

In all, the coding process led to five overarching categories with which to organize the emerging themes: *communication*, *language competence*, *recruitment*, *program planning*, and *power distribution*. Each of these main categories will be briefly delineated here.

The category of *communication* covers all types of communication within the department, both written and spoken, in particular involving teaching and researching staff. This includes both formal and informal situations (meetings exemplifying the former, and lunch room discussions the latter). It also includes written communication, such as e-mails and the department intranet. Dissemination of research, that is the communication of research to the wider community of scholars in related domains, is also included here.

The category of *language competency* refers to levels of both English and Danish by all stakeholders in the department, from teaching staff to administration to students. Also included here is how such competence is both acquired and assessed. Discussions of domain loss, and terminological considerations in Danish are located within this category.

In a science department of an international university, mobility is increasingly a key concept. With mobility comes a need for *recruitment*. At the staff level, this category covers hiring of international faculty, postdocs, and PhD students; at the student level, it covers exchange students and exchange programs. This category also covers the role of external funding in the department, as such funding affects the composition of the department.

The category of *program planning* refers to how courses are set up, on both the undergraduate and graduate (*kandidat*) levels. This includes how students are assessed, what materials students encounter in their classes, and when and how the language of instruction shifts between Danish and English, and from Danish to English in the overall program.

Power distribution covers decision-making and hierarchies of power both at the department, and between the department level and the faculty level. This includes how teaching is allocated. Opinions of interviewees about decision making, and about specific decisions, are included here.

After this coding procedure, the five coding categories were then further developed into themes. *Communication* and *language competency* developed into a theme of *language use in the department*, and are discussed further in chapters 5 and 6. *Recruitment* and *program planning* evolved into *internationalization*, discussed in chapters 6 and 8. Finally, *power distribution* was used primarily when discussing faculty and department interaction, covered in chapter 7.

4.4.2 Analysis of Observations and Documents

As noted above, the data analysis categories emerged from the analysis of interview transcripts. Observation notes were used only to add to existing categories. So, for example, the language used in the meeting served to add to the *communication* category, by adding an additional source of data. In this way, the language reported to be used in meetings could, in one case, be compared to what was actively spoken in a meeting. In the same way, the languages that were said to be used in the undergraduate and graduate level lecture hall and in the exercise classes could be joined by observation of language use in specific classroom situations.

As with observation data, document data was not analyzed in itself. Rather, themes which emerged from the interview process were also used as a framework for reading the available documents. Document data were used primarily in this project for establishing a timeline for the decisions, as well as for accessing the official stance of both the department and faculty in relation to the case decisions.

4.5 Further Considerations

This section addresses other issues of importance to this study. First, I discuss my own position as a researcher in the study (Section 4.5.1). The following sections address the limitations and strengths of the study (section 4.5.2), ethical implications of the research (section 4.5.3), and then relevant issues of reliability, transferability and validity (4.5.4 and 4.5.5).

4.5.1 My Position in the Study

As well as investigating the positionality of interviewees, it is also important to account for the positionality of the researcher within a given study (Moore & Wiley, 2015, p. 158). In my role as a researcher in the case department, my own historical body played a role in all aspects of the study, from the beginning stages of gaining access to the department, through to the process of data analysis, to the writing of the dissertation itself. Important historical body elements which I brought to the project are, in particular, my experience working in an academic setting, at the Center for Internationalization and Parallel Language Use (CIP) at the University of Copenhagen, where I had been employed as a research assistant prior to starting my PhD studies. In this role, I developed and taught courses aimed

at academic staff teaching in EMI classrooms. I also took part in a working group that administered the Test of Oral English Proficiency for Academic Staff (TOEPAS, described in Kling & Stæhr, 2011; Kling & Stæhr, 2012), a certification for non English L1 teachers teaching in EMI settings. While I was working from within a humanities faculty, in both my teaching and certification efforts, I was able to work with teaching staff from all faculties, also in the sciences. This experience is what originally awakened my interest in the subject of how languages are used in university settings by academic staff; it also gave me some insight into the variety of ways in which the use of English and Danish might be perceived on the ground in specific departments.

Along with my experience looking at language use in academic settings, another key element which I brought to this project was my identity as an L1 speaker of American English. From the initial contacts with interviewees, both my affiliation and language background were clearly on view, for example from my e-mail address and signature line, and from the fact that contact e-mails were written in English. I also chose to conduct interviews in English due to my own worries about my level of Danish, which is high, but not necessarily high enough for detailed interviewing and transcribing of Danish language interview data. My language background and the fact that I conducted the interviews in English (with exception of the interview with the Danish instructors, which was done in a mix of Danish and English) might have influenced how interviewees responded to me. My affiliation with a center known to work with language in settings such as the case department might have added to my credibility as a non-scientist doing research within a science department, as well as allowing me to develop more of a rapport with interviewees. In addition, for some Danish interviewees, the fact that I could speak Danish also added to my credibility; more than one Danish interviewee asked about my Danish ability, usually before using a Danish term themselves, in order to ensure that I would understand it.

4.5.2 Limitations and Strengths

A research study is the end product of a research process which itself is made up of a myriad of choices. The researcher must carefully select what to research, what data to collect, what methods and theories to use, and so on. Each choice that is made constrains the researcher from selecting something which might have given advantages, while at the same time offering its own advantages. In other words, in any study, there will be limitations and strengths, not all of them of equal importance, which naturally arise from the choices which were made during the research process. In this study, key choices included the choice of case department, the decision to use a qualitative case study methodology, and the use of the theoretical frameworks, in particular InnT, each of which can be discussed in terms of limitations and strengths.

In terms of choice of case department, a main consideration was access to interviewees. Specifically, the interviewees were almost exclusively Danish members of permanent staff, and non-Danish temporary staff members (with the exception of the one Danish PhD fellow). It could be argued that this was, in fact, a representative sampling which reflected the overall make-up of the department. At the same time, non-Danish permanent staff members could have given valuable input on language use in the department, and the lack of their voices is a definite limitation.

In terms of the case study methodology, the choice of a single case study was also a limitation of the project. As mentioned earlier, my original intention was to study two departments in two different faculties, which would have allowed me to focus on disciplinary differences in how English and Danish were viewed (as theorized by e.g. Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012, Kuteeva & Airey, 2012). In the end, because of the salience of the case decisions, which emerged as a key focus of the study over the course of the first interviews, it would not have been a strength to have also studied a department from outside the science faculty. In

fact, I would argue that it was because I focused on just one department that I was able to analyze the case decisions as I did. On the other hand, as the focus of this project was ultimately on decisions taken at the faculty level, with other departments in the faculty also being affected, gaining input from employees from one or more of those other departments might also have led to richer data.

The use of InnT was a strength, as it allowed me to take advantage of timing. I was able to interview participants right at the start of an innovation process, that is to say before the implementation of the decisions (although after the decisions had been announced and discussed within the department), and then again after implementation. The use of InnT in combination with interviews and observations at different stages of the process meant that the process as a whole could be investigated. At the same time, a limitation was that there were only two rounds; a third interview conducted a year after the second would have yielded even more data related to trajectory of the case decisions.

4.5.3 Ethical Considerations

At every stage of the study, from initial conception to analysis of the data and the writing of the dissertation, ethical considerations played an important role. In particular, because of the timeliness and sensitive nature of the case decisions, the ability of both the department and also interview and observation participants to remain anonymous was particularly salient. Therefore, material which might compromise anonymity was specifically not used in the research.

For both the interviews and the observations, participants were contacted individually and asked to volunteer their participation; that is, they were asked to opt-in rather than having to opt out. Furthermore, there was no penalty for choosing not to participate in the project.

Participation did not carry any risks. The only cost was of the time used for the interview or the knowledge that there was an extra person observing a class session in which they were teaching or lecturing. Also for both interviews and observations, practical issues such as the time and place chosen was based on the convenience of the interviewees. Moreover, which class to observe within the chosen overall time frame was the decision of the person whose class was to be observed.

Under the rules for the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Copenhagen (through which this PhD research was carried out), it is not required to gain specific consent from participants prior to interviews or observations. However, while I did not use specific consent forms, it was made clear to participants that they would be anonymized in the final project. This anonymization has been carried out in several ways. Firstly, the university itself has been anonymized by the use of the pseudonym Denmark University (DU). While the case department does exist within a Faculty of Science, the specific department has purposely not been identified. References to the case department field have in all cases been removed to further maintain the anonymous status of the department. At the level of individual participants, interviewees have each been given either pseudonyms, or in the case of interviewees identifiable by their position within DU, have been identified solely by their job title (head of department, head of administration, member of faculty leadership).

4.5.4 Reliability and Transferability

One important measure of research quality is reliability, which "in its simplest definition refers to consistency" (Mackey & Gass, 2005), or as "the extent to which our measurement instruments and procedures produce consistent results in a given population in different circumstances" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 51). Reliability is also associated with

replicability; that is, the idea that different researchers carrying out the same research should arrive at the same results.

Research reliability can be measured in several ways, one of which, consistency of measure, refers to the rigor and systematicity with which research is carried out. Though this can be difficult with qualitative research due to the nature of the data, consistency is possible to reach in the different phases of the research study. For example, in this study, data in the form of interviews, observations, and documents have been collected in a systematic way which has been described in detail. Another area where consistency of method can be seen is in the analysis and interpretation of the data. Specifically, the data was analyzed first through the use of specific coding using NVivo and analytic memos. Interpretations were also carried out consistently, and the use of the NA and InnT frameworks helped to ensure focus on multiple facets of the data.

Two other types of reliability are internal consistency and external consistency. Internal consistency can refer to the relationship between data, for example, if items on a survey lead to non-contradictory responses (Tang, Cui, & Babenko, 2014, p. 207). In the current study, it could be argued that having other coders interpret part of all of my data would have increased the internal consistency of the study (why this was not done is addressed later in this section).

External consistency is related to replicability. In this study, the systematic collection and description of the data collection and analysis enables other researchers to collect and analyze similar studies using similar data. For analysis in particular, again the use of NA and InnT, which have in themselves consistent categories for use in analyzing data, made the research more replicable, in the sense that someone else trying to get the same results in either the same context or a similar one, could replicate to some extent the analysis by applying the same categories. The systematicity confirms that this facet of the study has been

done consistently, and the detailed description of the data and the process of data collection allows other researchers to conduct research to try to replicate the findings.

Although I would argue that reliability is important for all research, reliability and replicability in the strong sense are often connected with a quantitative paradigm. A case could be made that replicability in particular is problematic for the type of qualitative research being carried out here. For example, LeCompte and Goetz (1982, p. 35), speaking of ethnographic research, note that:

> Ethnographic research occurs in natural settings and often is undertaken to record processes of change. Because unique situations cannot be reconstructed precisely, even the most exact replication of research methods may fail to produce identical results.

This description applies also to other types of qualitative research, for example to the present case study research, carried out during a specific time period characterized by the introduction of a particular set of policies. In this way, reliability is a problematic term. This is less the case for consistency of method, but especially the case for internal and external consistency. Internal consistency is at issue because of the uniqueness of qualitative research situations. For my study, for example, as I was both the collector and the analyzer of data, it would have been difficult to use outside raters, as they would have lacked the specific context needed to analyze the data in a way that was consistent with how I was doing it. For external consistency as well, the quote by LeCompte and Goetz apply to the case department and case decisions.

Reliability is not something to get rid of entirely, as it is a term which is more likely to be known by policy makers. However other concepts exist which can more appropriately

be applied in qualitative research. Particular concepts which may be more suited to qualitative inquiry in general, and to this study in particular, are generalizability and transferability. Generalizability is "the extent to which the results of a study can be extended to a greater population" (Mackey & Gass, 2005). Flyvbjerg (2006, p. 221; 2011, p. 302) claims a generally held "misunderstanding" that "one cannot generalize on the basis of an individual case; therefore, the case study cannot contribute to scientific development". This is then rebutted with specific examples which show that one case can, in certain circumstances, lead to generalizable results. My study is not aiming for generalizability in the sense of having findings that can be "extended to a greater population" or which can "contribute to scientific development" as with the examples (mostly taken from the physical sciences) which Flyvbjerg (2011) employs.

What is particularly relevant to the present study is transferability. Transferability refers to how well findings from one context might also be applicable to other similar situations. Mackey and Gass (2005, italics in the original) remark that "research findings are rarely *directly* transferable from one context to another"; the similarity of the context will dictate the extent of the transferability. The possibility to draw on the findings of this research to, for example make recommendations to policy makers and instructors in other contexts where medium of instruction is an issue is dependent on those findings being transferable.

Transferability has been equated with external validity, in the sense that Yin (2009) discusses it. It may seem to have similarities as well with external consistency. However, I relate external consistency more with replicability, which in turn I view as calling for a more exact duplication of research. In contrast, transferability calls for the comparison of situations, where findings from one setting can be relevant also for similar settings.

Whether the situation investigated here is transferable is an important question. By giving information about the context and background of the case decisions, it becomes

possible for other researchers to consider the same issues as they apply to other situations with which they are familiar. The goal is for readers to be able to compare the findings here with what is happening in their own settings in order to judge for themselves potential transferability. For example, the types of decisions being taken at DU, both to move towards EMI and to mandate local language teaching at certain levels, could be (and presumably are) happening also at institutions elsewhere. This means that what is happening in the DU case study department would possibly be transferable to these similar situations where English is seen as being in competition with local languages, in the classroom and elsewhere in daily academic life, particularly in other situations where decisions related to medium of instruction are in the process of being decided and implemented.

In discussing types of reliability and replicability which are more appropriate for qualitative research, LeCompte and Goetz (1982) describe external and internal reliability. These are discussed in relation to ethnographic research, but are seen (for example by Nunan, 1992, p. 59) as also being applicable to other types of qualitative research, "including case study research, field research, and anthropological research". This discussion will focus on external reliability, which is similar to transferability.

LeCompte and Goetz (1982, p.37) distinguish between five factors, each of which should be taken into account when assessing the external reliability of qualitative research. The first, researcher status position, refers to how the researcher fits into the groups being studied. In this project, I have explicitly described what my position as a researcher has been within the case department. This information does not in itself increase the transferability of this study. It does, however, allow future researchers to know how their status position may be different from mine, which may affect their findings.

The next two categories are informant choices, and social situations and conditions. These refer to the presence of descriptive information about the research participants and of

the context of the research. This has been provided through sections on participant selection and participant profiles, and through background information about the educational and political situation in Denmark, and in Danish universities such as DU.

The final two categories, analytic constructs and premises, and methods of data collection and analysis, refer to the presence of methodological information, and the description of how data was collected and analyzed. As described earlier in this section, the methodological implications of the two research frameworks are laid out, as is detailed information about the process of data collection and analysis.

4.5.5 Validity

Validity is commonly defined as the extent to which research measures what it claims to measure. However, it is only relevant to evaluate research measures if the data and analysis has been carried out in a consistent way. In other words, in order for research to be valid, it has to first have adequate reliability (especially consistent methods), generalizability, and transferability. The previous section has made a case that my study achieves these objectives, which means that it is relevant to also evaluate the validity of the study.

Yin (2009) sets out a four-part set of criteria for evaluating case study research: construct validity, internal validity, external validity, and reliability. These four criteria are presented as validity criteria, but apart from construct validity, they in fact cover elements of reliability. Internal validity, which refers to the establishment of causal relationships within a data set, is only pertinent for studies which claim to explain causality and is related to internal consistency of measures, as discussed in the previous section. Similarly, external validity is related to external consistency and transferability, and reliability is related to replicability, also discussed in the previous section. Therefore, only the first of the criteria, construct

validity, is discussed here.

Yin (2009, p. 40) describes construct validity as "identifying correct operational measures for the concepts being studied". This is to say that the data collected and methods used should be relevant ones for the aims of the research. By conducting consistent research protocols, and making clear the research design, it should be possible for a reader to evaluate whether this condition has been met.

Yin recommends three approaches to ensuring construct validity: using multiple sources of evidence, establishing a chain of evidence, and having a draft of the study reviewed by study participants. In this study, the first two of these criteria have been met. In terms of multiple sources of data, interviews, observations, and written documents have been collected as data which is most relevant for answering the research questions which have guided this study.

Secondly, there is a chain of evidence which has been collected throughout the study. According to Yin (2009), the chain of evidence allows an external observer to trace the steps of the research backwards or forwards between the conclusions and the research questions. For my study then, an interested reader should be able to follow how the data was collected and analyzed in accordance with both the research design and the research questions. In the other direction, the reader should be able to read the study as if a mystery novel, moving from the "whodunit" (the research questions) through all the clues (the data and analysis) to get to the solution to the mystery (the conclusions). I have ensured a proper chain of evidence by detailing the connections between the different elements of my study, and particularly in the way that I organized the findings chapters so that the reader can easily see the links between the research questions, the data, and ultimately the conclusions. I have also made sure to operationalize the terms I use, for example through clear definitions, so that it is clear that the data and analysis were relevant to my study aims.

One final area that is not present is member checking. Due to the timing of the data collection and analysis, this was not possible for this study. However, allowing interview participants to contribute to the analysis would have strengthened the construct validity.

As was the case for reliability, in qualitative research, issue of validity are not straightforward, and thus the types of validity which best apply are not always clear (Dörnyei, 2007). At the same time, Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba (2010, p. 120) rightly claim that "validity cannot be dismissed" because it is validity that provides answers to two highly relevant questions:

> Are these findings sufficiently authentic (isomorphic to some reality, trustworthy, related to the way others construct their social worlds) that I may trust myself in acting on their implications? More to the point, would I feel sufficiently secure about these findings to construct social policy or legislation based on them?

To the extent that this present study has implications for policy makers in higher education settings, these two questions are of particular relevance. This section thus explores relevant measures of validity to determine how an interested outside reader of this research might answer them.

The first step towards answering the questions is to determine what validity criteria to use. There is not one set of criteria which has been universally accepted by qualitative researchers generally (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 55). On the contrary, a variety of ways of measuring validity have been developed which are applicable to different types of qualitative inquiry (e.g. Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Maxwell, 1992). Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba (2010, p. 120-1) make a distinction between two approaches to validity). On the one hand, there is what they call "a kind of rigor in the application of method" which seems to relate to reliability in the

sense of consistency of methodology. This has been discussed in the previous section, and is not repeated here.

Along with rigor of method, Lincoln, Lynham, and Guba's (2011) propose a second type of validity, which concerns rigor of reasoning. They ask two questions of particular relevance to this study. The first is, "are we interpretively rigorous?" In the present study, rigor of reasoning has driven the use of external theoretical frameworks, both NA and InnT, as a way of ensuring that data collected in the study be analyzed fully. In addition, to the extent possible, I have endeavored to make my interpretations as detailed as possible, so that readers may evaluate for themselves the rigor underlying the analysis.

The second question asked to determine rigor of reasoning is "do our findings point to action that can be taken on the part of research participants to benefit themselves or their particular social contexts?" The answer to this question is yes, with suggestions given in the concluding chapter. This question also resonates with the NA goal of changing the nexus of practice. While this is not the primary goal of the present study, the findings of the study can be used by participants and also policy makers to effect beneficial changes in how medium of instruction policy is conceived and implemented.

Another question that can be asked when judging validity is what Gee (2011) calls the frame problem. By frame, Gee means the context that is investigated as part of a study. Considering the frame should lead the researcher to ask

> How much of the context should we take into account? Isn't it always possible that, if we consider more of the context, we will find out that claims about meaning we thought were true are, in reality, false (Gee, 2011, p. 30)?

The frame problem is a relevant concern for any discourse-based research, but is particularly relevant for case study research, as the first step of the case study is to set the frame through which the case is delineated. Choices that are made about what and how much context to include affects what is considered to be part of the case, and what is not. In this project, I attempted as far as possible to maximize the amount of context by collecting data from different areas within the frame of the case. For example, while I was not able to interview all stakeholders, I did succeed in interviewing relevant teaching staff (with the already noted exception of non-Danish L1 permanent staff) at different career levels and with different language backgrounds, plus administration and department and faculty management. Gee (2011, p. 37) advises researchers to "always push [their] knowledge of the context as far as [they] can, just to see if aspects of the context are relevant that [they] might not at first have thought relevant". In my study, this was done at different points. For example, the interviews with non-teaching staff stakeholders were carried out after the teaching staff interviews had occurred in order to gain additional information which could contextualize the situation. Similarly, the search for documents related to the case decisions were collected throughout the study, which gave on-going extra context.

So far, validity criteria for qualitative research more generally, and for qualitative case studies in particular have been given. In addition to this, both NA and InnT imply validity criteria. As discussed above (in section 4.1.2), NA ensures validity through the use of four different kinds of data: members' generalizations, neutral (objective) observations, individual experience, and interactions with members (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 158) Each of these types of data have been collected as part of the interviews and observations. This type of triangulation allows different types of data to be aligned, which then strengthens the results of that data. In addition, different elements of the social action (Discourses in Place, Historical Body, Interaction Order) are also elements which can be triangulated.

InnT as delineated by Henrichsen (1989) does not explicitly set out validity criteria; however, the three chronological stages of the hybrid model allow for the triangulation of data at different points in time. Data collection at multiple moments within an innovation process serves in this way to offer further validation to the project as a whole.

4.6 Summary

This chapter has overviewed the methodology and methods used in this project. The methodological implications of the two theoretical frameworks have been overviewed, with specific considerations regarding how the project design reflected the theory. In particular, the ethnographic orientation of NA was adapted for the time-limited analysis of the innovation under study. The specific research design was also described, including information about each of the three prime data sources: interviews, observations, and written documents. For each of these data sources, the data collection and data analysis procedures were described. Finally, other areas relevant to the overall research project were discussed, including my own position as a researcher within the case department, and the limitations and strengths of the project. Ethical considerations, especially in regards to anonymity, were also described to show how these were assured throughout the project. Reliability, transferability, and validity were also addressed.

Chapter 5:
Antecedents and Language Use Outside the Classroom

Both this chapter and the following one will focus on the antecedents section of the hybrid model which forms the basis of InnT. The antecedents section covers the situation in an organization before the implementation of an innovation (Henrichsen, 1989), what Wall and Horák (2006) refer to as the baseline. In this project, the baseline is the time period of the first set of teaching staff interviews, which took place shortly before the implementation of the case decisions. Information elicited in this period serves to construct an image of language use in the department as it was at that time. This chapter will focus primarily on language use in situations where teaching staff communicated mainly with each other, for example in meetings. Chapter 6 then focuses on language use in teaching situations, and uses this information, together with that given here, to fully consider the categories set up by Henrichsen (1989) in the antecedents section of the InnT hybrid model. The analysis given in this chapter will also be used to provide answers to part of the first research question: How did department teaching staff report using English and Danish in work situations outside of the classroom before and after the implementation of the case decisions? This chapter will answer the first part of this question, revealing how department teaching staff reported using Danish and English before the implementation of the case decisions.

In the antecedents section, four categories serve to organize the analysis: characteristics of the user system, characteristics of users, traditional pedagogic practices, and experience of previous reformers. This chapter will focus primarily on the first two of the four categories, characteristics of the user system and characteristics of users. Characteristics of the user system is used by Henrichsen (1989, p. 79) to refer to "the structure of society and the schools, especially the power hierarchy among the various elements within these

systems". While Henrichsen's original study was looking at the educational structure of a whole country, this study focuses on one department, and will characterize the user system as the structure of that department, both in relation to the faculty, and in itself. In this analysis, the user system is, on the one hand, the result of top-down planning which recognizes the influence that department and faculty leadership has on the overall composition of the department. This makes relevant the "power hierarchy" referred to by Henrichsen. At the same time, the user system is a bottom-up composite created by all of the users in the system, with their power relationships also having a role to play.

According to Henrichsen, characteristics are (1989, p. 80) "attitudes, values, norms, and abilities" which "strongly influence the course of a diffusion/implementation effort". In the present study, characteristics of users focuses, specifically, on these factors as they relate to languages and language use. In particular, the analysis considers how interviewees view Danish and English, and how their abilities in each language affect their life within the department. These characteristics come together to influence and in part create the user system, meaning that a discussion of users also entails discussion of the user system. These factors will also be analyzed using NA concepts, particularly historical body insofar as it is interviewees' past experiences which lead to them having the attitudes and abilities which they do. Similarly, discourses in place which lead interviewees to have certain expectations in situations such as the classroom or meeting room are related to such things as values and norms.

Data for this chapter comes largely from first-round interviews with teaching staff. In these first round interviews, as well as in the interviews with management and administration, one main topic for questions was related to language use in specific situations in the department. I particularly tried to elicit information about what language or languages were used for meetings and other formal spoken situations, for informal situations such as in the

lunch room, and in written communication from colleagues or from the department or (where relevant for a given interviewee) from the faculty. I also asked questions regarding language level: how people viewed their own overall Danish and English level as well as that of the department as a whole (which in practice included various stakeholders, from other teaching colleagues, to administrative staff, to students). In the coding phase of data analysis, two of the categories that emerged were related to these two areas of the interviews. *Communication* related to how languages were used in the department in spoken and written situations, both formal and informal. *Language Competency* related to people's perceived levels of Danish and English, particularly for themselves, but also for others in the department. These two categories together served to map out language use in the department, both in terms of what languages were actually reported to have been used (*Communication*), but also in terms of what languages could potentially be used, that is, what stakeholders were able to do in Danish and in English (*Language Competency*). The data placed into these categories was then analyzed, and the narratives which emerged were also tied together, and will be the focus of this chapter and the next.

The material here paints a portrait of the department as it was right before the implementation of the case decisions. This information served to set the stage for the social action of the case decisions. As already mentioned, interview data provided information about the experiences that interviewed staff brought with them when approaching everyday situations in the department (historical body), and the expectations that they had when entering such situations (discourses in place). These experiences and expectations served as characteristics of users; that is, what teaching staff brought with them into work situations in the department influenced the potential outcomes of the case decisions. Moreover, to the extent that the communicative situations covered here were repeating ones (that is, employees could expect to regularly attend meetings, write and receive e-mails, eat lunch with

colleagues, and so on), these situations both became a recognizable nexus of practice, and created a user system which in itself affected the decision process. In analyzing the data, patterns emerged relating to people's perceived levels of language proficiency, and how abilities in a language, together with status as permanent or temporary within the department, can afford or constrain department participation in these nexus of practice.

In both this and in later chapters, the data analyzed refer exclusively to Danish and English. This is not because interviewees never used any other languages than these two. Postdocs in particular might have been using other languages in their repertoire with colleagues who shared them, and may have used other languages for teaching before coming to Denmark. Additionally, some permanent faculty mentioned experience (most not having taken place in recent years) publishing in other languages or previous positions were they had taught in a language other than Danish or English. However, these uses of other languages appeared to be the exception rather than the rule. Of all the people interviewed, none reported making more than token use of other languages in daily situations while in the case department, and none reported using other languages for teaching or research in the department. These two languages were also the only two specifically mandated in the case decisions. For these reasons, it has been decided to limit the analysis to Danish and English only.

5.1 Language Use, Language Proficiency, and Status in the Case Department

The principle of parallel language use which is often advocated in university settings in the Nordic region would indicate that Danish and English have equal standing, and that both can, at least in theory, be used in any given communicative situation at the university, and by extension, in the case department (Harder, 2008; Davidsen-Nielsen, 2008). From the

standpoint of InnT, parallel language use would indicate a user system where each language could be used equally. But this was not the case for actual communication at the department. Neither Danish or English were usable in every work situation in the department, and both Danish and English could be shown to be in some way problematic as neither language was fully mastered by all department stakeholders. Because there was not full mastery, any language choice made could have an indirect effect of inhibiting full participation by interested department staff. The following sections demonstrate how language competence in either Danish or English could potentially affect the extent to which department staff were able to fully participate in the department. A case is also made that characteristics of users was not the same across a department where language proficiency in the two main department languages was not homogenous.

Specific situations in the department, in particular meetings and other formalized spoken communication situations, e-mails and other written communication situations, and the lunch room and other informal spoken communication situations, are settings containing different discourses in place, for which participants in the setting arrive with specific expectations, including but not limited to language use. Looking at how these situations are organized also offers an insight into how the department as a whole works, which gives a picture of the user system of InnT. To the extent that the system is composed of individual users, their analysis can enhance the view of the system as a whole. Specifically, different groups within the department had different expectations of these work situations, as a result of their own lived experience, which provides information about their historical body. This, in turn, was interrelated with their real or perceived language proficiency as well as that of their colleagues in Danish and English. It was also related to their interactions with others in the department, that is, with the interaction order present in the department. In the following

sections, connections between language proficiency, type of employment (in a permanent or a temporary position), and member status in the department will be explored.

In the analysis of all work situations in the department, these three factors of language proficiency (type of employment, and member status) emerged as salient. The first factor related to the employment status of interviewees, in particular whether they were in the department on temporary contracts, or on a longer-term basis. As literature on researcher mobility (for example, Jacob & Meek, 2013) makes clear, contemporary academic departments are influenced by the presence of temporary staff, particularly at the postdoc level. This coexistence of teaching staff present in a given department for varying lengths of time becomes a characteristic of the user system, that is, of the way that the department itself is structured. This is also the case for the case department. The employment status of individuals could be seen as related to their status as either a participant in the department or being a member of the department. This participant/member distinction is in keeping with Hymes (1974, p. 50), who noted "To participate in a speech community is not quite the same as to be a member of it". In the following analysis, member status gives the possibility of involvement in all aspects of the working life of the department, including issues of administration or department working conditions. In contrast, participation in the department means the possibility of involvement in areas directly related to one's research or teaching, without more general involvement in other areas of the department life.

In interviews with teaching staff in the department, one key issue which seemed correlated with status within the user system was that of Danish proficiency, what Henrichsen (1989) would categorize under the term "abilities". Member status was seen as presupposing an ability to communicate in Danish, whereas participant status to some extent presupposed a lack of ability to communicate in Danish. Proficiency and employment status intertwined to affect the type of participation or membership afforded to different department employees,

with functional ability in Danish allowing employees to take part in work situations in both Danish and English. In contrast, a lack of working competence in Danish in a temporary employee would mean that employee could participate fully only in situations taking place in English.

These are stereotypical situations rather than universal formulae, and all combinations of employment status and Danish proficiency were present in the department. However, in examining how Danish and English were used in the department, Danish appeared to be linked with permanent employment, as shown for example by the Head of Department, who stated that non-Danish permanent employees were "encouraged…rather strongly to learn Danish", and when asked what he meant by the word encourage, added "it's more like pressuring, you have to learn Danish". At the same time, English appeared to function as a marker of member status in the larger research community of the field, as well as the language used for research by all staff.

In the following sections, both typical examples and outlier examples of these formulae will be given in order to fully explore how the relationship between employment status and Danish ability could lead to different outcomes with regard to member and participant status within the department. In particular, subsections will focus on Danish and English in formal spoken communication in department meetings (in 5.1.1), written communication in e-mail correspondence (in 5.1.2), and informal spoken communication in lunch room conversation (in 5.1.3).

5.1.1 "We have to cut away someone at all sessions": Meetings in the Department

The first area is formal spoken situations, as exemplified by meetings. As with the other situation types covered in this chapter and the next, meetings are recurring events which

occur in a variety of work settings (that is, they were not unique to the department). This means that teaching staff had experience attending meetings both in the department and in other places. Looked at through the lens of historical body, staff came to department meetings with previous personal experience of having attending meetings. In addition, meetings as a workplace genre have their own discourses in place which provide information on participant expectations: of what a meeting would entail, what would happen there, and how meeting attendees would behave. As well, the interaction order would indicate different types of communication depending on who was present at meetings.

The historical bodies and interaction orders of meeting attendees, as well as the discourses that they encountered also related to language. As stated above, the two key languages which were used for daily communication in the case department were Danish and English, and meetings were one area which typified how each language was used. Interviewees described meetings taking place within different groupings of stakeholders. For example, a meeting might be for employees working in a specific research group, or for all permanent staff, or on rarer occasions for all employees in the department. In analyzing these settings, three elements were salient. Firstly, the most important (but not the only) factor influencing the language of any given meeting was the language proficiency of meeting participants, especially their Danish proficiency. Related to this was the position of the employees involved, for example if they were permanent or temporary staff members, and lastly their status in the department as members or participants.

For each language, the actual level of competence of department stakeholders varied; however, the expectations of competence which department staff members had for their colleagues were quite different for each of the two languages. Specifically, all stakeholders were expected to have at least some working knowledge of English, though in daily practice, administrative staff in particular were not seen by everyone I interviewed as having sufficient

English for meetings. This can be contrasted with Danish, where only Danish staff members speaking Danish as an L1 were expected to master the language. Apart from that group, it was not expected that other members of the department would be able to participate in work situations which took place in Danish. The most obvious members of this group were non-Danish speakers who were in the department for shorter periods of time, for example as PhD students, postdocs, or visiting researchers. Also included in this group were people visiting the department for shorter periods of time. It likely also included some members of permanent staff who had not yet fully mastered the language. However, as I was not able to speak to anyone from this group, my analysis here will be solely based on interviews with and observations of the postdocs and the visiting researcher.

Because of the presence of department staff who did not speak Danish, some daily situations of the department, including meetings, were carried out in English. A typical situation was described by permanent staff member Anders, who said "So since I've been here, we've had only one section meeting, and that meeting was in English. I mean most of the members of the section are Danes but a few are non-Danish speakers so we kept the meeting in English." For Anders, the meeting was a setting which would be emplaced with English in deference to a minority who did not speak Danish, that is the interaction order for meetings at the department differed when there were non-Danish speakers present, which led him to expect English in these settings. This shifting to English as a possible language for meetings also led to the use of English being unproblematic for him.

At no point did any interviewee speak of attending a meeting in English for any reason other than the presence of non-Danish speaking participants. The implication of this was that the interaction order would have been different without the presence of non-Danish speakers. This was exemplified by Rasmus, also a member of permanent staff:

Kim: And meetings, would they be mainly in Danish or in English?

Rasmus: So I mean in my group, we don't have any non-Danish members, so they'll be in Danish also. If we had non-Danes, I guess we would speak English.

In this case, where only Danes were present, their interaction order would lead them to communicate with each other in Danish. The "default" language used would be Danish, leading to a meeting conducted in Danish. However, the presence of a minority of non-Danish speakers would change the interaction order, such that switching a meeting to English would become the expected choice. As this pattern continued, it would become strengthened, becoming a part of the lived experience, or historical body, of Danish staff members. For the Danish speakers I interviewed then, meetings were emplaced with Danish, unless there were non-Danes present, in which case they would be emplaced with English. Additionally, their experiences with the use of Danish and English in similar situations over time would have become part of their historical body, leading them to come into situations with these expectations.

Permanent staff members expected that a meeting could be switched to English to accommodate non-Danish speakers. Non-Danish speakers also expected that meetings would be held in English, in particular when there were other non-Danes present. This would seem obvious as they would be the people for whom a meeting language could be changed, as shown by Marco, a postdoc, commenting about meetings that "in our research group there are so many foreigners that it's definitely, most of it happens in English all the time". This meant that for them, meetings were almost always emplaced with English, both out of necessity (a lack of Danish proficiency making participation in Danish meetings impossible) and out of the expectations of Danish colleagues (that a meeting was emplaced with English if non-Danish speakers were present). Also, as with permanent staff members, the repeated

experience with using English in the department became part of their lived experience, their historical body, which would lead to the expectation of English in work situations. As a result of these expectations, there was a switch to English for many meetings and other formalized situations. This meant that the postdocs I interviewed carried out practically all of their work related tasks in English. In their experience, English was enough by itself to allow them to carry out their work duties.

A general rule for meetings then, as shown in the excerpts from Anders and Rasmus, was that language use was tied to the interaction order between meeting participants, leading to Danish being chosen unless the presence of non-Danish speakers caused a switch to English. However, there were meetings held in the department which were always held in Danish regardless of who was present. Again, this can be seen as an issue of membership: members were expected to have sufficient Danish to take part in meetings in Danish. This reinforced the non-member status of non-Danish speakers, confirming their role as participants in the department rather than members. Non-Danish speaking temporary staff were aware that such meetings were taking place in the department in Danish. This can be seen with James for example, as a postdoc speaking about the language used at meetings in the department:

> James: The meetings I tend to go to are in English, but that's, I mean it says more about the kind of meetings that I am invited to than, I mean there are lots of meetings going on in the department in Danish, but you know, things like upper level administration meetings and things like that. As a temporary employee I really don't have anything to do with that.
>
> Kim: O.K., are there meetings that you are invited to that you don't go to because they're in Danish?

James: No, there are meetings that I have been invited to that I did go, and they were in Danish, and I didn't understand a great deal of what was going on, but that was o.k., […] I'd say that all the meetings that are somehow relevant to me professionally are in English.

This excerpt gives an example of meetings in Danish where the language was not switched to accommodate a non-Danish speaker (James). James made it clear when he said, "I didn't understand […] what was going on [in Danish], but that was o.k." that he did not feel excluded by not having functional competence in Danish. At the same time, he showed awareness that his lack of such competence kept him from being able to fully participate in situations such as certain meetings. In the excerpt, James also showed an awareness of his own role as a participant rather than a member of the department. He viewed "things like upper level administration meetings" as being relevant for a group of department employees of which he himself was not a part. This group was characterized by language - these were the meetings "going on in the department in Danish", and also characterized by employment status, being something that a temporary employee would not "have anything to do with". At the same time, he was part of the group for meetings that were "relevant to [him] professionally", and which were held in English. Because both his own language competencies and status within the department would lead James to primarily attend meetings held in English, for him, such meetings became a discursive space marked with English.

Maarten's experience as a postdoc was similar; he did not feel excluded by his lack of Danish, yet acknowledged that there were situations that he could not take part in because of it:

Kim: The meetings that you go to here at the department, what are they in?

Maarten: They're mostly in English, and well it depends a bit on the subject, but occasionally they're in Danish. But these are, usually they're not very interesting.

Kim: So like what kinds of subjects would be in Danish meetings?

Maarten: Well there was, recently there was a meeting about the layout of [a room in the department] and they wanted to change something, whatever, that was in Danish. I mean stuff like that, which is of no importance, that can be done in Danish, but whenever it's important it's in English.

As shown in this excerpt, interaction order, which is to say, who speaks to whom, and in particular, what people speak about, in part determined the language of the meeting; it "depend[ed] a bit on the subject", with some subjects being in Danish. Which topics were in Danish and which in English was tied for Maarten to perceived level of importance. The example he gives, a meeting about the layout of a room, is "of no importance" to Maarten. This resonates with the above excerpt from James; a problem with the layout of a room might be seen as being of interest mainly to permanent employees, about an issue which a temporary employee, using the physical space of the department for a time-limited period, would not "have anything to do with". In the same way, for Maarten, "whenever [a topic is] important, it's in English". Maarten did not specify which topics were important; however, the example he gives of an unimportant topic would be an important one for a permanent member of staff with member status in the department. For Maarten, as a temporary employee, different topics would be seen as important.

Looking at the excerpts from Danish permanent staff, it appeared that language use in meetings was primarily determined by interaction order; that is, who was present in the meeting, and their Danish proficiency. From how James and Maarten experienced meetings

in the department, it can be seen that in addition to Danish proficiency, language choice was determined by topic of conversation, with some topics of interest primarily to permanent employees taking place in Danish, and other topics, for example those which James characterized as "relevant […] professionally" taking place in English. In this way, importance relates to employee status as permanent or temporary, and by extension, importance relates to status as member or participant in the department. As a member of the department, different topics had professional relevance, and were thus be seen as more important.

Some permanent staff members whom I interviewed also spoke of reasons why a meeting would be held in Danish regardless of who was present. One example was of meetings held just for permanent staff in the department. This is described by Jørgen:

> Once a year we have meetings where it's all the permanent staff only, and the head of department is of the opinion at those meetings we speak Danish, even though there are a couple of employees that do not speak Danish very well, but he has kind of, he says well this is a Danish department, so if they have a permanent position here, they should learn to speak Danish sufficiently well to actually be there.

In contrast to temporary employees, who were not expected to master Danish, permanent staff members were expected to be able to function in the language regardless of their actual communicative level in Danish, shown by the fact that meetings were specifically not changed to accommodate them. While this was a meeting which happened only once a year, and as such was not generalizable in itself, is still shows that permanent staff were expected to be able to attend a meeting held in Danish. In the clearest examples, temporary staff who were not able to function in Danish were not viewed as full members of the case

department, while permanent staff who could function in Danish were. In addition to these groups, the meetings for the permanent staff which were held in Danish although there are permanent staff who do not "speak Danish sufficiently well" indicate that these permanent staff were expected to be more than participants in the department, more in line with other permanent staff members than with temporary staff with similar levels of Danish. Position trumped language ability, and they were expected to take full membership as a function of their permanent status. However, that they "should learn to speak Danish" because of this showed how even here, membership was seen to require enough Danish to "actually be there". Alternately, a lack of Danish proficiency might have impeded member status in some way even for this group of employees. As I was not able to interview any non-Danish members of permanent staff, it is not clear how those in this group perceived their own membership status within the department, nor what their historical body and the interaction order they experienced with their colleagues might have led them to expect in situations such as meetings. It thus appeared that Danish was used in meetings when the invitees to the meeting were viewed as full members of the department, or expected to become members regardless of their Danish abilities.

There was one other situation brought up by interviewees where a meeting might be kept in Danish despite the presence of non-Danish speakers. This would be when the meeting was attended by staff with limited English. It must first be pointed out though that the idea that English might not be sufficiently mastered by all department staff members would not be one that many of my interviewees would have recognized. The consensus view was, in fact, that practically everyone had some level of English which was enough to enable them to participate to some reasonable level in all situations which took place in English in the department. Interviewed staff, both temporary and permanent spoke of experience using English in a variety of situations, from conferences to collaborations to speaking with short-

term visitors to the department; English was a deeply rooted part of every interviewee's historical body. Interviewed teaching staff at some points evaluated the level of English which was deemed sufficient for use in work situations. For example, when talking about how the department had changed from mainly Danish-speaking employees to more international (and non-Danish speaking) ones, Andreas, a permanent staff member, characterized the department staff as "having English as a common broken language". This use of the word "broken" brings to mind the concept of "truncated competence" (Blommaert, Collins, & Slembrouck, 2005), which refers to the extent to which speakers of multiple languages do not master their languages to an equally high level of proficiency, but instead have limitations for each language in their repertoire. Truncated competence is related to "truncated multilingualism - linguistic competencies which are organised topically, on the basis of domains or specific activities" (Blommaert et al., 2005, p. 199). Truncated competencies can be perceived as either an asset or a liability depending on situational factors. In the case department, truncated competence in English was what was expected for daily working life in the department. With the expectation that everyone had sufficient, if truncated, use of English, but that not everyone could use Danish, a logical result would be a department where situations such as meetings were increasingly carried out in English; that is, there was a growing tendency for all situations in the department to be emplaced with English.

However, along with the discourse of everyone having enough English was some indication that this may not in fact have been equally true for everyone in every situation. One particular situation was brought up by some permanent staff members to explain the use of Danish at meetings was the presence of the departmental administrative staff, whose English was not seen as being as high as that of teaching and research staff. Andreas described the effect this had on department meetings:

> When we are doing, having research meetings, it will typically be conducted in English. When there are secretaries involved in the meetings, we would typically do it in Danish, so that's sort of where we make the cut, […] because I mean in all research collaboration, there are going to be foreigners […] and the secretary may not be so fluent in English, so basically we need to make the cut somewhere, we have to cut away somebody at all sessions.

This excerpt again shows the importance of interaction order on language choice. As indicated by Andreas, the presence of administrative staff ("secretaries") would keep the situation in Danish in the same way that the presence of non-Danish speaking staff ("foreigners") might shift the language from Danish to English. Not everyone saw the English level of administrative staff in the same way. Another permanent staff member, Christoffer, commented that meetings tended to be in Danish when administrative staff were present because "maybe they're less comfortable with English, and that's why […] although I think their English is perfect, so I don't know why, but it could be that they're less comfortable expressing themselves in English." So for Andreas, it was a question of fluency, and for Christoffer a matter of comfort with the language. In either case, the result was that administrative staff were seen as being able to participate in meetings in Danish, but not as being able to participate fully in English language situations. In other words, they had member status in the department, while not having such status in terms of smaller research groups within the department.

However, as described by the head of administration, "I mainly participate in meetings with the research council, the research committee, whatever, but all the heads of sections are Danish-speaking, so that would be in Danish". So it could have been the case that the presence of an administrative staff member would keep a meeting in Danish that would

otherwise have been switched to English, or it could be that the meetings which included administrative staff would have been in Danish anyway, being for members only. It could also be argued that administrative staff, who are generally hired as permanent staff, due to their employment type had something akin to the membership of research staff which enabled them certain language rights which might have superseded the rights of participant temporary staff.

So there were two trends which can be seen in how language was used in meetings: the meeting was kept in Danish if the target audience for the meeting had member status, because of employment status or otherwise (as opposed to participants), and the language of the meeting could and would be switched to English if non-Danish speaking participant staff was present and the meeting related to issues which were also of relevance to that staff, for example, related to the activities of a research group.

This means that a large component of language choice in situations such as meetings was related to the membership status of meeting attendees. In turn, this was intertwined with Danish proficiency, with mastery of Danish potentially leading to fuller membership and a lack of Danish proficiency leading to participation rather than membership. Of course in a department where everyone is expected to have some mastery of English (however truncated or "broken" it may be), while not everyone is expected to have even truncated competence in Danish, English could potentially be used in order to grant fuller membership to more employees. One reason it was not could relate to English proficiency. While overall English proficiency was higher, full membership could also be affected, in that those whose English was weaker could also have difficulty fully taking part in the activities of the department. The case of administrative staff has already been addressed. Another example was given by the head of the department, discussing the use of English in department meetings:

HoD: …the meetings, I mean I would say that the quality of the meetings does fall a bit, I mean when we speak English.

KC: In what way?

HoD: When there are discussions, people speak more freely when they speak Danish, I mean it's, they argue a little bit better in Danish than they do in English.

He went on to add that people "hold back more", and that the meetings did not "work so well" when the majority of meeting participants were native speakers of Danish, but a meeting was held in English. This would indicate that even for Danes who were able to converse about their field, it was not as easy to use English in other domains. As with the administrative staff, this could be because of language competency, that is that they did not have the skills to converse in non-work areas; or it could have been a question of comfort, that they did not feel as comfortable speaking English in these situations, for example, the more formalized setting of the meeting, as indicated by the head of department. This can be seen as an example of truncated competence. In this case, such competence is not treated as a liability, as for the Head of Department, it was still possible for Danish-L1 department employees to speak and argue in English. In contrast interviewees did not discuss the use of Danish in the same way.

Similar comments were given by teaching staff, for example Rasmus, who said "I prefer Danish also as I feel much more free in Danish than I do in English, but of course I speak English when required". This might indicate a lower comfort level in English, which could also impact the depth of participation by non-native English speaking staff. Danish members of staff might have had the ability to "speak English when required", but their proficiency in Danish as an L1, and attitudes and emotions such as comfort around the use of Danish would make the use of that language stronger. In other words, from a historical body

perspective, Danish would be a more integrated part of the life experiences that Danish teaching staff had.

These perceptions go along with the literature on EMI which shows that non-native speakers of English in EMI settings lack non-domain vocabulary (Tange, 2010). While the EMI research considers language skills in the classroom, the same linguistic limitations could apply to other work settings outside of the classroom. Of course, it also made sense that the Danish speakers would tend to want to speak Danish in situations where a majority of participants shared it as a common language. This can be a question of historical body as well. The influx of international staff in the department was relatively recent. This means that Danish members of permanent staff had until recently been using primarily Danish on the job with fellow Danish (or Danish speaking) colleagues. So, the switch to English may not have become natural yet. It is also related to interaction order, that Danish speakers would speak Danish with other Danish speakers, such that speaking English in front of fellow Danes was problematic. Casper, speaking about giving lectures, said "I do feel uncomfortable speaking English to a Danish only audience". In a similar vein, Jørgen, talking about how meetings for permanent staff were in Danish despite the presence of some permanent staff members with lower levels of Danish said "it's o.k., cause it's slightly artificial when we are gathered in that group of people that we should speak English just because there is one participant who does not speak Danish very well". Again, this might have been an issue also for non-Danish speaking staff; however, they would not expect to be in a similar situation while in Denmark, where they were to speak English to a group where the majority of them shared the speaker's native language. This can be seen in postdoc Fernanda's assessment of her English skills: "I'm not proficient in English, but I'm comfortable with English". She may have been comfortable with English because she had not at that point had a choice but to use English in formalized work situations in the department.

Just as the previous section demonstrates that Danish was not by itself enough to allow for all department staff to take full part in all situations in the department, this section shows that the same can be argued for English. In making this comparison though, care must be taken not to overstate the similarities. In the case of Danish, the staff who were excluded may have had no command of the language whatsoever, or only basic command which was not high enough to allow them to participate in particular situations. For English, even those who did not have full command of English did have enough of a basis in the language (in most cases including learning English as a subject in primary or secondary schooling alongside using English in professional settings such as conferences) to partially take part in all situations they would find themselves in. But what is not an overstatement is that neither Danish nor English, as the two main languages used for communication, could be chosen without the possibility of limiting membership, either in part or in full, in the life of the department.

5.1.2 "I don't have time to write it in both": Departmental Written Communication

In addition to meetings and other face-to-face situations, department staff also communicated with each other through the modality of written communication such as e-mails. Though not as immediate as spoken communication, department employees came to e-mail communication with expectations in the same way that they would with meetings, also in relation to the languages they used when writing e-mails, and the languages they saw when receiving them. As with meetings, levels of participation and membership could be seen in the way interviewees talked about the correspondence they received from the department. In addition to how interviewees oriented towards e-mail writing as a genre, the language of e-mails and other correspondence was closely related to the recipients of those e-mails and how

the writer oriented towards them, that is to say, the interaction order. There was a growing trend for the administration of the department to write to staff using both Danish and English; here the focus is on correspondence sent or received in only one language, a category which would include most e-mail sent by those I interviewed.

Although the modality of e-mails and meetings were different, in the case department some of the same patterns of language use were present. For example, just as James had gone to meetings which were in Danish, where he "didn't understand a great deal of what was going on", Fernanda stated that she sometimes received e-mails "in Danish, and a line on top saying 'sorry, only Danish'". When asked what she would do when this happened she said "Well then, you don't read it (laughs), then you assume o.k., it's not my concern. If they wanted me to read it then…." This excerpt shows the same discourse of importance that was shown in how postdocs James and Maarten oriented to meetings in the department. In their case, topics of meetings which were in Danish were deemed to be "of no importance". For Fernanda as well, also a postdoc, an e-mail in Danish was taken as not important, as "not [her] concern". As with meetings, the assumption was that if it was in English, then it would be relevant. If it was in Danish, then it would not be, and furthermore that it would not be a problem to ignore it.

This example also illustrates that membership extended to the written word, with Danish used for communication to and among members of the department, and English used for participants who had not been granted full member status. It is not only temporary staff who differentiated topics as being of importance to temporary or to permanent staff. The distinction can be seen clearly in the following description, with permanent staff member Andreas speaking about the language he used for e-mail correspondence:

> I typically write either in Danish or in English, because, well mainly I write to the staff, the permanent staff, the research people, and they understand both Danish and English. It is easier for me to write it in Danish, so if I judge that it's not important for the foreigners then I write it in Danish, and otherwise, I write it in English. I don't have the time to write it in both.

Much of the analysis given for language use in meetings can be found in this excerpt. Here the discourse in place of importance is stated explicitly; topics that were "important for the foreigners" were in English, with other topics which were not important to foreign staff being in Danish. What is important is related to employment status, in that permanent staff, who were in general seen to understand Danish as well as English, could and would be written to in Danish. Foreigners, who were intrinsically not permanent staff (as the permanent staff were listed separately), could only be written to in English. Neither Fernanda nor Andreas specified what topics were considered to be important. In the case of Fernanda, the language of the e-mail itself marked importance or not importance; that is, whether an e-mail was or was not her concern. For Andreas, a permanent staff member with Danish as his L1, importance was attached to ease of writing; if something was important to foreign staff, he would write it in English, but if it was not important to that group but to the group of permanent staff to which he belonged, then he would write it in the language that was easier for him.

Just as non-Danish speaking postdocs would sometimes be at meetings held in Danish, so would they sometimes receive e-mails mainly in Danish, as shown in the quote by Fernanda speaking of e-mails with the line "sorry, only Danish". Along with e-mails sent only in Danish, some e-mails sent in English might also require some knowledge of Danish, typically when an e-mail referred to documents or other information (usually given via links

in the text) which was only available in Danish; as Andreas described it, “when you refer to the rules that are lying behind the e-mail, they’re typically going to be in Danish”.

To summarize what has been presented regarding both meetings and e-mails, it would seem that convention in the department would require that Danish be used in situations where all (or most) attending or reading had member status in the department, and additionally were able to function (or were expected to be able to function) in Danish. English would be used to communicate on topics which were deemed important for non-permanent employees who were not able to work in Danish, with discursive importance itself attached to the language used. This affected what language was used in different situations, but also what language was expected of employees in different groups.

Not only were the postdocs I interviewed able to ignore information presented or situations carried out only in Danish, there was no indication that they were expected to be able to read information or participate in Danish situations, given their status as foreign staff, together with their status as non-member of the department. In addition, none of the temporary staff I interviewed indicated any requirement on their behalf to learn Danish, either in order to use it on the job or otherwise. As temporary staff, they would be expected to function in English, and would be carrying out work duties in English. As the literature on researcher mobility shows, it is particularly at the postdoc level that mobility occurs, and then with the aim to increase qualifications rather than to stay with the postdoc institutions (Musselin, 2004). Without the expectation that they would stay long term, there was no long-term reason to require or even expect learning of the host institution local language, though in the case department such training was available to those temporary staff members who wanted to learn some Danish during their stay, in the form of courses which several of the interviewees attended.

It could also be argued that the expectation of being able to communicate in English had become a part of the historical bodies of postdocs. They had been exposed to situations, whether from other postdoc institutions, or from interacting with mobile students and teachers in institutions which were local to them, where English was used as a lingua franca. Because of this experience, they expected to be able to communicate in the lingua franca, without needing to master a local language first, or at all. This does not mean that temporary staff members had no experience with Danish; as has been shown, they were exposed to it for example through meetings and e-mails on the job, and also through life in a Danish-speaking society outside of work. This is also not to discount the possibility that temporary staff could more explicitly incorporate Danish into their historical body; this can be seen for the case of Fernanda and her Danish learning experience, which will be examined in section 5.2.1. But there was not an expectation that this would happen, either on the part of the temporary staff or the permanent staff, and without Danish learning, gaining membership would become more difficult.

That there was a connection between Danish and membership could be seen as much in how Andreas described writing e-mails in English if writing to foreign staff as in how fellow permanent staff member Anders described attending a meeting held in English instead of Danish to accommodate the non-Danish speakers present; for them, and likewise for other Danish members of permanent staff interviewed, changing to English to respond to non-Danish speakers in meetings or for e-mails was presented as a given. However, while postdocs might have arrived to Denmark with the expectation of being able to communicate in English generally, for Danish permanent staff, it was not so much a matter of their past experiences leading them to build the expectation of English in all work related situations. Nevertheless, it was clear that certain situations, such as meetings and e-mails, were to take place in English as the language to use when not everyone could participate in Danish.

5.1.3 "We might shift to English, but sometimes we don't": Informal Spoken Communication in the Department

Along with formal spoken situations and written communication, one final type of daily work situation was investigated, namely informal speaking situations. This was exemplified by the lunch room, and conversations taking place there. As with meetings and e-mails, language use in these informal settings were also clearly interrelated to issues of proficiency and membership status as well as to the discourses that were present. In addition, interaction order in these settings also emerged as a salient factor which determined language choice in a slightly different way than was the case for meetings or e-mails.

In formalized situations such as meetings, the language would often be set in advance. This could be done explicitly, as when the head of department decided that meetings for permanent staff would always be held in Danish. It could also be an implicit decision taken by meeting attendees, based on previous experience and on the interaction order between those present, for example that a meeting should be in English as there were non-Danish speakers present. A decision to hold a meeting in a particular language served to constrain what languages attendees to a meeting could use. In contrast, lunch room conversations were not explicitly decided in advance in the same way. They could and did change depending on who was in the conversation at any given point. This meant that language choice decisions did not always match what might have been expected from the situation by individuals in the lunch room. Rather language choice would be based on interaction order, that is, who else was in the conversation and the relationships between them.

In practice, language choice in the lunch room could be based around the L1 of the participants. For example, Simon, a PhD student, described the language used by PhD students in informal situations:

> We're a bunch of PhD students, and I think maybe half or maybe a bit less actually speak Danish, so if everyone is talking together we speak in English, and of course if I'm just talking with one or two of the other students who actually do speak Danish, then I will speak Danish to them, and they will speak Danish back.

As with a meeting where attendees might use a language which was less comfortable for them because it was expected situationally due to the language proficiencies and interaction order of the group as a whole, the interaction order of the lunch room could be determined by conversational group, where for example Danish L1 speakers were afforded the opportunity to use their L1 if the other participants were also L1 Danish speakers, or could communicate effectively in the language. Simon's comment illustrates this; in his experience, when the whole lunch room group did not speak Danish, then speaking in English was also an option. This is also shown by permanent staff member Jeppe, who said he normally spoke Danish in the lunch room, but "very often there will be a visitor, and we will naturally switch to English".

In contrast to language use for meetings, which was seen as more fixed, the language used in the lunch room could be changed mid-conversation and, depending on the individuals present, conversations could shift from Danish to English as soon as a non-Danish speakers entered the conversation or from Danish to English if the non-Danish speaking participants left it. Permanent members of staff indicated that these switches happened when they were required. But this switching was not seen to be instantaneous, and there were several types of situations in which the switch to English would not take place, and a conversation would continue in Danish despite the presence of participants who could not follow the conversation. This can be seen in this excerpt from Anders, a member of permanent staff:

> If we're having lunch and there are only Danish speakers present, then we speak Danish, and if a postdoc or something like that turns up at the table, we switch to English, usually, not always, depends, I mean sometimes you would like to finish the conversation.

This excerpt presents Danish as the unmarked language choice for those with member status, with temporary staff characterized by not being able to communicate in Danish. It also makes clear the way in which temporary employees were expected to not have Danish proficiency, as the term "postdoc" here had exactly that meaning. Here, Anders started by delineating what was expected in those situations, "if a postdoc or something turns up at the table, we switch to English", but then indicated that what Danish L1 speakers expected that they should do was not always what actually happened. This echoed other Danish L1 interviewees' experiences in the lunch room.

In some cases, continuing in Danish in this type of situation was judged negatively by Danish speakers, as exemplified by permanent staff member Jørgen who said "we usually speak Danish […], if somebody comes along who doesn't speak Danish, then we might shift to English, but sometimes we don't, and occasionally it's kind of excluding people a little when we speak Danish." On the other hand, the lack of shift was not always seen as a purposeful means to exclude. As Anders put it, "sometimes you would like to finish the conversation" in Danish. So unlike meetings, the lunch room as a language situation did not carry the same expectation of switching to English where non-Danish speakers were present; rather, a conversation with one or more interlocutors which started in Danish might continue, at least until the conversation was finished.

In formalized situations, as shown previously, language choice was constrained. For example, the head of department noted that "the quality of the meetings does fall a bit, I mean

when we speak English". This implies that, although Danish L1 attendees might prefer to speak in Danish, the discourse of meetings (that is, what people expect when in a meeting situation), together with the interaction order found within the group of meeting attendees would lead them to continue in English regardless. In the lunch room, where language choice was not explicitly constrained in this way, and where language use could be negotiated on a more individual basis, Danish L1 speakers could choose to use their L1 even in situations where there were non-Danish speakers present.

A specific time when this might happen can be seen with Andreas, discussing Danish speakers not switching to English when non-Danish speakers enter the conversation. He states that this was "considered somewhat rude", but he also said "There are conversations at the lunch table that are conducted in Danish because, I mean one reason could be that this is such complicated stuff that we simply cannot do it in English." At the same time, some code-switching might take place in both Danish and English conversations. Christoffer noted that during lunch conversations, some terms might be hard to translate:

> Since one particular word is always used in the context, you would use that word, right. So you would get this funny language where you speak one language, and then you sort of substitute a word because you only think of it [in the other language], and this goes both ways.

This excerpt shows that terminology can cause a conversation to shift either to English or to Danish. Examples heard from Danish-L1 interviewees of subjects which were difficult to talk about in English were Danish-culturally laden concepts such as the Danish "julefrokost" (literally "Christmas lunch", which roughly corresponds to an office Christmas party) and legal and administrative or bureaucratic terms which do not exist outside the

context of the Danish university or legal system. In contrast, in more formal situations, the legal and administrative topics would then be discussed in Danish meetings, such as the ones James said were not relevant to temporary staff, with English meetings being on topics which were easier to discuss in English.

This non-obligation to switch into English might be seen as an issue of possible language proficiency, where topics which were hard to transfer into English were used to keep conversations in Danish. This speaks to the same issues of membership and participation that were present in other situations in the department, and can be seen in different ways. One example is that of James, a postdoc who indicated that he did not normally eat lunch with members of permanent staff, but rather in another location:

> At lunch for example, I mostly go with other postdocs and I think almost all the postdocs in this department are non-native Danish speakers and like me are only here for a limited amount of time, we all speak English together.

This shows that in informal situations, postdocs such as James were aware of the distinction which existed between member and participant. Just as temporary staff members could opt out of meetings held in Danish, or ignore e-mails sent in Danish, they could also opt out of lunch conversation which might be held in Danish. This opting out could be seen as related to language (the lunch conversations might not switch). It could also be seen as being part of the membership status that one had; these were postdocs who are all "only here for a limited amount of time", and lunch conversation with permanent staff who might speak in Danish was not seen as important.

Just as not being able to participate in a meeting or to read an e-mail were generally viewed as being non-important to employees with limited participant status in the

department, informal conversations in Danish were also seen as not important for temporary staff. But permanent staff member Jesper pointed out a less obvious advantage of being able to participate in Danish:

> Jesper: If there's a discussion of something in the common room […] then sometimes the discussion is in Danish, and if you speak Danish, you can take part in that.
>
> Kim: O.K, so it's sort of the water cooler [setting]
>
> Jesper: Exactly
>
> Kim: And are decisions sometimes made in those settings, or is it more that the discussion continues from the official places.
>
> Jesper: I would say that the discussions influence decisions.
>
> Kim: O.K., so if you can take part in it then you can also influence decisions.
>
> Jesper: To a larger extent, yeah.

Here it becomes clear that membership was a factor not just in department meetings, but also even at lunch. This means that on an everyday level, not having Danish did not greatly impact the life of non-Danish speakers. At the same time though, influence was exercised in informal settings that may have occurred only in Danish, meaning that a lack of Danish led to a lack of influence over how decisions were made within the department. Conversely being able to communicate in Danish in these informal situations could give the ability to influence decision-making. It must be noted that none of the temporary staff interviewed mentioned influencing decision-making in the department as one of their goals.

5.2 Danish Language Proficiency and Membership Status

In the analysis set out so far, employment status and Danish language proficiency came together to create two categories of membership in the department; member and participant. While this should not be overstated, a dichotomy has been set up of permanent staff members who were able to communicate in work situations in Danish and who had full member status in the department, and temporary staff members who were not able to communicate in Danish and who had participant status in the department. For the most part, this distinction captures the experiences of interviewed teaching staff. Some cases, however, did not exactly fit the pattern, and they serve to nuance and deepen the view presented in previous sections.

There are four possible combinations of Danish proficiency (either able to function in the language, or not able to do so) and employment status (permanent or temporary). Of these four, two can be seen as typical: able to function in Danish and permanent; and not able to function in Danish and temporary. As the typical examples, they have been described in the previous analysis. Remaining are permanent staff members who are not able to function in Danish, and temporary staff who are able to function in Danish. As I was not able to interview any non-Danish members of permanent staff (regardless of their Danish language ability), I am not able to discuss their experiences. Of the temporary staff I interviewed, two of them were able to function in Danish, and I will use these two as examples to deepen the relationship between employment status, Danish proficiency, and member status in the department.

These two were each non-Danish temporary employees who had achieved communicative competence in Danish during their temporary employment. For Fernanda, this competence went along with gaining increased member status in the department. For

Dieter, this competence affected life outside the department, but did not make for substantial change within the department itself.

5.2.1 Example #1: Fernanda

Fernanda was a Spanish postdoc. At the time of the first interview, she had been in the department for about a year and a half. She had also spent a similar amount of time earlier at another Danish university (with time spent outside of Denmark in between the two stays at Danish universities), where she had learned some basic Danish through taking on-line lessons not sponsored by her then-department. This means that she arrived at Denmark University (DU) with a basic knowledge of the language, which she had then been actively working to improve in part by taking the Danish training offered through the department.

Unlike the other temporary staff interviewed, at the time of the first interview, Fernanda stated that she was hoping to stay in Denmark and at DU, and that being able to use Danish at all was the result of a conscious decision she made to "incorporate Danish more in [her] work life". She did this first by writing e-mails in Danish. She saw this as "the safe side, right, you can check things in the dictionary". She also aimed to speak Danish to Danish staff:

> I mean the other day for instance, I was talking to the secretary and she switched to English, and I said "no, please keep it in Danish because otherwise how do I learn?"

This showed that for Fernanda, work situations where she would previously have interacted in English (as with other temporary staff I interviewed) were increasingly becoming opportunities to communicate in Danish. This was not at the initiative of other members of the department, for example the administrative staff member who switched to

English. It was a result of Fernanda explicitly changing the interaction order with individual staff members by saying “no, please keep it in Danish”. In this way, Fernanda was altering the perception of herself as a foreign employee to whom Danish staff should communicate in English.

Because Fernanda explicitly changed her own language use with Danish staff, she then added to the experiences that she had with the language, meaning that she was also incorporating the Danish language into her historical body in an active way. As her Danish had improved, her interactions with other colleagues had also changed, which then changed the interaction order as well, that is, some of Fernanda’s Danish colleagues now expected to use Danish when interacting with her. Speaking of these shifts, Fernanda said “I can have conversations now with people here [in Danish], so it’s starting to be nice.” When asked if Danish speakers at the department were “willing to speak to [her] in Danish”, she answered:

> Now it’s easier because now we can have conversations, so it’s not like they have to do me a favor. I can just sit with them, have a beer […] I cannot teach still in Danish, but like my students will turn in things in Danish, and I’m with that, I can read it.

This excerpt illustrates two points. Firstly, it shows clearly the division between department staff who speak Danish and those who are learning Danish, where the Danish speakers “have to do [Danish learners] a favor”. It also shows a power differential between the two groups, in that Danish speakers could chose whether to aid in Danish learning efforts or not.

Additionally, the excerpt illustrates Fernanda’s own navigating of the Danish learning process. That is to say, she was at that point able to use Danish to communicate in some situations such as informal conversations, and was becoming part of the group of Danish

speakers rather than beginning Danish learners. In this way, increased Danish proficiency led to a change in social identity, shown by Fernanda's saying she could now "just sit with [Danish colleagues], have a beer". Her statement that Danish colleagues no longer had to do her a favor showed her recognition of her own changing membership status, towards being in a member for whom such language usage favors were no longer necessary.

Fernanda's professional identity was also changing; situations requiring higher levels of Danish such as teaching were still not possible for her at the time of the first interview (when she made the above statement) because of her limited ability in Danish. However even here, she was approaching the use of Danish in her teaching, for example by being able to accept student homework done in Danish. At the time of the second interview, she had been given two courses (for the following term) that she would be teaching in Danish, showing that her growing Danish abilities were also being recognized for teaching purposes. Interestingly, Fernanada's expected difficulties with using Danish as a foreign language for teaching and lecturing were not equal to the problems shown to exist in the EMI classroom. For those teaching in EMI settings, domain specific vocabulary was stronger than their vocabulary for more casual situations, which could lead to difficulties in discussion periods or lead to less spontaneity overall in lectures (Tange, 2010). In contrast to this, Fernanda felt a lack of "scientific words, you don't learn in language school" rather than general Danish language skills. She planned to study the domain specific vocabulary of relevance to the courses she would be teaching using lecture notes and readings given in previous runs of the courses. In this way, she would be purposefully integrating Danish language usage into her historical body also for classroom situations.

One effect of Fernanda's growing ability to use Danish with Danish speakers was her changing orientation to the types of informal situations where Danish staff would be more

likely to use Danish also in the presence of non-Danish speakers. For example, when talking about such situations in the lunch room, she said:

> Now I don't mind because, I mean I sit there also to learn Danish, so I'm kind of happy that they don't change, but I know it's very bad because there are people that don't understand a word.

This excerpt shows that in informal situations, it was considered "very bad" not to switch to English when a non-Danish speaker entered the conversation. It also shows that by being able to take part in a Danish conversation, Fernanda started to become a member rather than a participant in the conversation, and by extension, in the department. At the point of the excerpt, Fernanda could be seen as between two groups; she was able to take part in Danish conversations, and to be "happy that they don't change" as it gave her more practice with the language, while at the same time, she could see how other temporary staff without Danish language skills could be excluded from the conversation. Again, proficiency in Danish was tied with membership status. Fernanda was happy to use the lunch room as an arena for practicing Danish. But she also had passed the threshold of being able to converse in the language as a result of a combined total of three years (the length of a typical postdoc position) in Danish universities where she was studying Danish. A more recently arrived temporary staff member studying Danish at a beginning level, or perhaps not studying it at all, would not have the ability to participate in conversations happening in Danish, or using Danish to leverage membership access. For this group, having a conversation in Danish would involve the Danish participant(s) doing the non-Danish speaker a favor, to use Fernanda's phrasing.

At the time of her second interview, Fernanda had been officially recognized as a member of the department in two ways. The first way, as described above, was that she would be teaching in Danish-medium instruction classrooms. In addition to this, she was no longer a postdoc, having been hired into a different position in the department where she said "the idea is that I might stay longer [in the department]". Having had her stay at DU extended confirmed her increased member status in the department, and she was hopeful that she would be able to stay longer term there. It was not clear whether her ability to use Danish in work settings might have made her more attractive as a longer-term employee.

5.2.2 Example #2: Dieter

Fernanda was able to use her growing Danish skills in her working life as a means to achieve member status in the department. In contrast, Dieter's story serves primarily to show the value of Danish training for its use outside of workplace situations, and illustrates how Danish language skills could be developed while participant status in the department was maintained. Dieter was a visiting professor who neither hoped nor expected to remain in the department. At the time of the first interviews, he had been at the case department for about half of a planned two-year stay. He had not studied Danish prior to moving to Denmark; however, he was doing so at the time of both interviews through the training provided by the department. His goals for Danish learning were modest. In comparison with Fernanda, who hoped "to get to the level where I feel as comfortable with Danish as English", Dieter characterized temporary staff such as himself in the following way:

> Most of the people are like me, they're here as, well for a temporary position, and work in [the case field], so they don't really need Danish to work, but I think they all want to learn a bit of Danish to appreciate the culture and get around in everyday life.

This excerpt shows clearly what it meant to be a participant in the department in relation to Danish language proficiency. For this group who were at the department temporarily, Danish was not seen as necessary. When talking about his experience with the department Danish courses, Dieter said that he was not using the language in the department; his job was almost exclusively in English. However, his experiences with learning Danish did lead to him using some Danish on the job, particularly with reading. For example, although he shared the opinion with regard to e-mails that important information was always sent in English, he read e-mails sent only in Danish "because I want to learn Danish, but well, it never turns out to be something I have to reply to". This shows that for Dieter, as for others in the case department, a discourse of importance applies to communication, with importance leading to perceived relevance to a given employee. For Dieter, the importance of an e-mail was judged by whether he had to reply to it. As well as illustrating one method of evaluating level of importance, it also showed that Danish communication could be used as a learning tool by staff who were learning Danish.

In contrast to Fernanda, who used her increasing Danish in the workplace for both writing and speaking, Dieter spoke Danish primarily outside the workplace. At the time of the first interview, he had recently started an introductory Danish class. He found it to be "very helpful in everyday life to have some, well, theoretical background for the Danish I try to speak when I do the groceries or meet people on the playground, and things like that". At the time of the second interview, he said his Danish had improved, but he was not using more of it on the job. Again, he was using Danish "almost exclusively around when I go shopping or

when I'm with my daughter in her kindergarten because she speaks Danish [there] and they try to speak Danish to me". While he was not looking for member status in the department, as Fernanda was, he was looking for something akin to such status in other aspects of his daily life. The goal was to be seen as someone who could "get around in everyday life" without English, while still working in English when at the university; that is, having member status in his everyday life, while maintaining participant status in the department.

Dieter's experience is important as it illustrates that the workplace did not exist in isolation - even if work tasks could be done in English, the outside society in Denmark still functioned primarily in Danish. For Dieter, he was able to use Danish to converse for example with staff at his child's daycare, or with other parents on the playground. While not directly related to work, it affected his satisfaction with his life in Denmark, which indirectly had a positive impact on other areas of his life, including his work life. At the time of the second interview, Dieter was in the process of transitioning to another workplace outside of Denmark, so would no longer be directly using his Danish skills. However, the language skills he had gained, which allowed him to settle more easily into Danish daily life, might make him more likely to return for other reasons. This was in keeping with the goals of the department Danish training, as described by the head of department, for whom Danish training was so that non-Danish employees would "have a better experience" so that they "will be wanting to come back and visit us occasionally". This shows the department view of participation as being similar to Dieter's perception of it, with Danish used by temporary employees outside the department rather than in it.

5.3 Conclusions

This chapter aimed to give an overview of language use in everyday work situations within the case department, in particular for formal spoken situations, written correspondence, and informal spoken situations. It also served to answer the first part of the first research question: How did department teaching staff report using English and Danish in work situations before the implementation of the case decisions?

One key theme that emerged when looking at department language use in work situations was the division between member and participant, a division which was linked to Danish language proficiency, and also to employment in a permanent or time-limited position within the case department. Permanent staff either had Danish proficiency or were expected to have it, while temporary staff were not expected to have or to use Danish on the job. At the same time, Danish proficiency alone was not enough to determine member status in the department, as shown from those employees who had a different level of Danish than would be expected based on their member status. For example, both Fernanda and Dieter were temporary staff members with growing Danish proficiency. For Fernanda, this proficiency was being used to move towards member status (including, by the time of the second interview, longer-term employment in the department). In contrast, Dieter, who was not aiming to stay longer-term in the department, did not use his Danish on the job. Nevertheless, a clear divide could be seen between staff who were able to communicate in Danish and those who were not. Non-Danish speakers were only able to carry out work tasks in English, while Danish speakers used both Danish and English to varying degrees on the job. This is at first glance appears to be a very obvious observation, but it is also a factor which affected all areas of communication in the department. Seen through the lens of InnT, this divide appeared to be related to the user system of the department, insofar as trends towards researcher mobility

had led the department to be a location with both local and non-local employees each having differing Danish language abilities.

Language use could in part be explained by the historical body of department staff members. Non-Danish speaking temporary staff, and Danish speaking permanent staff came to the department with different historical body experiences with language. Danish L1 staff were ready to switch to English if non-Danish speakers were present, but because the department had become more international in a relatively short period, they naturally had stronger experiences with using Danish, also in work situations such as meetings. Non-Danish postdocs did not, of course, have experience working in Danish; they came to the department with the expectation that English, as the language of the case field, would be enough for all relevant communicative events that they would face.

More important determiners of the language used for formal and informal work situations in the department were interaction order and discourses in place. In terms of interaction order, it was the presence or absence of department participants which would decide the language used. To a large extent this division corresponded to those who could speak Danish, but, as has been seen, this division did not always hold. In more formal situations such as meetings, interaction order of meeting participants as a whole determined what language was chosen. The discourse of meetings, which is to say what attendees to a meeting expected based on the setting, also determined certain factors, for example that there would be one language per meeting (which possible exceptions which will be examined in chapter 7). In informal situations, interaction order also applied. Here, however, the more fluid nature of the lunch room, where conversations might gain or lose speakers over time, meant that interaction was evaluated on a more individual level, that is, not for the group as a whole necessarily, but for conversation partners individually. This meant that switching from Danish to English, or from English to Danish, was possible, but also that it was possible to

not switch to account for a new speaker. The discourse of inclusion which often holds for social situations, that it is impolite not to include someone in a conversation, held here, but at the same time a need to switch only at a logical topic shift point was recognized.

This chapter has focused solely on language use outside of the classroom. However, divisions of language ability and employment status in the department also had implications inside the classroom. The following chapter considers language use within classroom and lecture settings. The other two categories of the antecedents section of InnT's hybrid model, namely traditional pedagogic practices and experience of previous reformers, are addressed here.

Chapter 6:
Antecedents and Language Use in the Classroom

While chapter 5 looked at language use for those situations where department staff interacted with each other, in meetings, e-mails, and in the lunch room, chapter 6 extends upon this to map out language use in teaching situations within the department. As the case decisions are directly related to language use in the classroom, the InnT antecedents categories of "traditional pedagogic practices" and "experiences of previous reformers" are used to investigate what teaching was like in the case department at the time of the introduction of the case decisions. NA is used to examine the different nexus of practice present in the classroom, particularly but not only in relation to language of instruction. A primary aim of the chapter is to answer the first part of the second research question: How did teaching staff and students report using English and Danish in classroom situations before the case decisions?

Traditional pedagogic practices can refer to how teaching is carried out in a whole society (as Henrichsen, 1989 used it to refer to teaching in pre-WWII Japan), but in this study it is more in keeping with Wall and Horák's (2006) interpretation as "what teaching looked like before the key participants knew (very much) about" the innovation being investigated (p. 115). What teaching looked like in the case department here is discussed from several angles. The first areas relate to course set up and assignment of teachers, as well as to the level of interactivity found generally within the department classrooms. After this, specific attention is given to the use of Danish and English not only in the undergraduate and graduate-level classroom, but also in research done after the *kandidat* level. Throughout the chapter, language is viewed as a mediational means (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, p. 12), that is, as a tool which enables actions, in this case, including teaching or learning. For each area, the

focus is on the discourses in place present in the classroom, that is, how students and teachers expected to interact with each other within the classroom setting and how they expected teaching to be run. A final section turns from teaching to research at the PhD level and above, focusing on the discourses in place for these settings, and what graduate students and researchers expected when they wrote theses and articles.

The final category of the antecedents section of the hybrid model is "experiences of previous reformers". Because this project started at the same time as the introduction of the case decisions, it was not possible to get direct data related to previous reforms or the efforts of previous reformers. However, interview data reveals that at least one previous reform related to language of instruction had been carried out in the department. An analysis of how it was received by department teaching staff, and whether it was ultimately adopted or rejected, can be used to further assess the potential longer-term future of the case decisions.

6.1 Traditional Pedagogic Practices

In order to understand the effects of the case decisions on the classroom, it is first necessary to understand the type of teaching going on in the department before the implementation of the decisions; which InnT categorizes as traditional pedagogic practices (Henrichsen, 1989, p. 80). In examining these practices in the case department, two features emerged as salient: the perceived flexibility of language use, and the very traditional teacher-centeredness of the teaching itself. Each aspect has implications for how language was used and how mandates specifying language use might be received. Additionally, perceived patterns of language use are analyzed alongside such use outside of the classroom. In the following section, traditional practice as it related to course planning is addressed, in other words how courses were scheduled and teachers assigned. These sections draw upon data

located within the coding category of *program planning*, which refers both to how courses were set up, but also how teaching was carried out in individual courses.

While the category of traditional pedagogic practices relates to the antecedent phase before the implementation of the decisions, some of the data in this section comes from classroom observations which took place after the decisions were in effect. However, while courses may have switched from being offered in English to being offered in Danish, or vice versa, there was no indication that the style of teaching changed with the decisions. Thus, observation data gathered after the implementation of the case decisions served to give insight into how teaching was carried out in general in the department, also before the implementation of the case decisions.

6.1.1 Perceived Language Flexibility in the Classroom

With innovations such as those under study, which have clear ramifications for classroom teaching and lecturing, the category of traditional pedagogic practices, that is, how teaching was traditionally done, is important. This relates primarily to the roles that teachers and students play. In particular, it reflects the classroom or lecture room setting as an example of a discourse space, a space into which teachers and students entered with specific expectations, also in regards to which language or languages are used.

Teaching staff were not asked directly about teaching, for example in terms of teaching style, beyond questions about what languages they used in the classroom. Nevertheless, through descriptions of classroom situations, combined with observation data, information about teaching in the department emerged. From interviews of permanent staff (who were the ones able to teach in either Danish or English), where teachers described language choice in the classroom, a key word, “flexible”, emerged in describing how such

choices were made. A quote from Andreas, a member of permanent staff, illustrates this in relation to teaching, and specifically to language of instruction:

> [The faculty] have had a very open language policy basically, leaving it up to teachers what language they would use, except for the fact that you had some, what should you call it, minority position I would probably call it, basically was offered in English. If some non-Danish speaking people showed up, it would be done in English, if nobody showed up, it would be switched to Danish.

Andreas interpreted this position as open, "leaving it up to teachers what language they would use". However, as described by Andreas, language choice was not completely unlimited, but rather was determined by the interaction order, that is, who was present in the classroom, and what their Danish proficiency might be. With the presence of only Danish speakers, a class would be taught in Danish; with the presence of non-Danish speakers, instruction would change to English. In this way, language choice in the classroom is in keeping with the descriptions given by interviewees for non-teaching situations within the department, analyzed in chapter 5. As already described for non-teaching situations, often the presence of a non-Danish speaker would switch communication to English, though not always, particularly in informal situations such as in the lunch room. The clear patterns of department language use indicated that language was determined largely by discourses present in particular situations combined with the presence or absence of non-Danish speakers. However, these patterns were interpreted through a discourse of flexibility.

One way of understanding this flexibility can be found in Airey (2012), who looked at physics instruction in a Swedish university setting, and concluded that his informants did not view themselves as language teachers. Rather, language was a means through which they

taught content. Looked at in this way, language is a tool which can be freely switched to suit the needs of a given classroom without regard to potential effects of that switch, for example on learners.

The discourse of flexibility was seen in how interviewed department teaching staff viewed themselves as able to change the expected language of instruction when required; for example, the language of instruction could be changed from Danish to English to accommodate the unexpected presence of an exchange student. For Danish teaching staff, the discourse of the classroom, that is, what they expected when entering a teaching situation, was that they might be required to switch to English. From the perspective of the Danish L1 teacher, Rasmus's comment from chapter 5, "I prefer Danish […] but of course I speak English when required" also held true for the classroom, with permanent staff prepared to teach in English if they felt that it was needed. Indeed for some teachers, teaching in English had become part of their historical body; through teaching in English, they became able to assume the role of a teacher in an EMI classroom, if perhaps grudgingly. This could be seen, for example, with permanent staff member Kjeld's description of the language he had been using in the classroom: "Now and then I was teaching a first year course, and then I have to teach it in Danish, but all other courses we were more or less forced to teach in English".

Because the language could shift once a class had started, any language expectations that students had when signing up for a course, for example that the language of instruction in a course offered in Danish would be Danish, might not always match reality. In contrast to teaching staff, who were expected to switch when needed, students were not seen to view language choice through the same lens of flexibility, as described by Andreas: "[Danish students] were a little bit not too happy about this fact that they didn't know when they entered the courses what language it was actually going to be carried out in". Unlike with teaching staff, students were not seen as having the same amount of lived experience learning

in English which would enable them to adapt as readily to classroom instruction shifting to English, at least at the undergraduate level. As a result, they would be "a little bit not too happy" about the possibility of taking a course in English.

The perception that Danish students might be uncomfortable with a shifting classroom language is exemplified in an excerpt from Kjeld:

> It's a pity for the Danish students because we have say fifty students in class, and then there comes one Spanish student who wants to follow this course, automatically we are so nice that we do everything in English for the Spanish student.

Here, the Danish student is seen as disadvantaged by spontaneous switching to English. However, the fact that courses would be changed, for example, for "one Spanish student" showed that the practice of switching the language of instruction was not seen as a controversial one.

Interestingly the historical body of the non-Danish speaking exchange student, who would also potentially be taking a course in a second language, was not a factor considered by Danish teaching staff. These non-Danish, non-English L1 exchange students were not seen as learners of English, though they might have been. Instead, their status was in keeping with Saarinen and Nikula's (2013) study of how students entering EMI programs in Finland were perceived, as learners of the field of study who were assumed to have the English necessary to succeed in coursework. Similar perceptions could be seen for example from Christoffer (a permanent staff member), speaking of non-Danish exchange students taking coursework in the department:

Christoffer: Traditionally, I don't know why, but the Greek and Spanish students did not have quite the same level as our students.

Kim: In terms of language or in terms of [the case field]

Christoffer: In terms of [the case field], and I don't know why, I mean this is traditional I think, what, how much do you learn in high school compared to how much do you then learn in university, and this has caused tensions. […] then on the other hand, I think the German students are better than our students.

This excerpt shows that for Christoffer, as for others, domain knowledge that an exchange student might have was important. Danish students though, were seen as affected by change in language as well as by level of disciplinary knowledge. In contrast to foreign students, who were expected to function in English (Saarinen & Nikula, 2013), Danish students were not seen as necessarily feeling comfortable doing so.

The discourse of flexibility in language did not apply solely in moving from Danish to English. It could also be seen in situations where a course given in English because of an enrolled exchange student could be given in Danish on days when that student was not present, and then changed back to English mid-class when the student showed up late. Casper described the procedure that had developed around this, for a course happening at the time of the first interview (before the decisions had been implemented):

I have a course now, which is a very advanced course that has only Danish participants except one German exchange student, and he is often late, […] this has happened enough times that we now have a procedure, so I will just write everything on the blackboard, I will write in English, and then I will speak Danish, and then as

soon as he comes in the door, I switch, and like do that sort of instantaneously if I can, and that's a good laugh.

Again, the naturalness with which a course could be switched, not only in advance of a lesson, but in mid-lesson, showed that changing language was not in itself a controversial act. It also showed a disconnect between language and pedagogy: the teaching was the same, with only the language shifting. It also shows that teaching staff were able to shift language in the same way that local students were shown (Söderlundh, 2010; Kiil, 2011) to switch to local languages where possible, for example in breaks in a longer lecture. It would stand to reason that teaching staff would also feel able to switch where it seemed appropriate to do so.

Another factor revealed in the above excerpt is a difference in how written language input and spoken language input were perceived. The spoken language would change based on the interaction order between teacher and students present in the classroom at a given time, and could switch "sort of instantaneously" when that interaction order was disrupted by the entrance of a person not sharing knowledge of that spoken language. In contrast, the written language, "everything on the blackboard" would be in English regardless of the interaction order set by who was in the classroom at a given time.

The flexibility described in this section presupposed a teacher or lecturer who was able to switch between Danish and English. This would make it primarily available to permanent Danish-speaking staff. Temporary staff were not teaching in Danish (although Fernanda, a postdoc, was scheduled to do so in the term following the second round interviews), and a lack of Danish proficiency meant that they were not able to do so. As will be seen in the section on teacher assignment, the different level of choice in teaching assignments signaled that department membership status also made a difference for teaching. How this related to discourses of importance in the department, and how this differed

between teaching situations and other communicative situations outside the classroom is also discussed.

6.1.2 The Panopticon Classroom

From interview data and particularly from class observations, clear patterns of teaching style within the department emerged as salient, which included both the discursive space of the classroom as well as the interaction order between students and teacher, and, to a lesser extent, among students. In particular, a main feature of the teaching environment at the case department was the extent to which teaching in the department was teacher-centered, or more to the point, lecturer-centered. This could first be seen through the visual set-up of the classroom space; larger classrooms and auditoria were structured in such a way as to permit a lecturer to address a large group, with all tables or benches oriented towards the front space where the lecturer would be, along with black- or whiteboards and in some cases a podium.

This teacher-centeredness was also reflected in the interaction order of the observed lessons. During the observed lectures, there was little or no opportunity for student participation. This could have been for logistical reasons, in particular for lectures held in large auditoriums with high numbers of students present, but it was also the case for those lectures held in small classrooms with many fewer students present. In this way, the lecture room or classroom lecture fit Scollon and Scollon's (200, p.: 39) definition of the "panopticon event", where

> the teacher is at the hub of a communication wheel. The teachers speak to everyone in the class, everyone in the class who speaks speaks either to the teacher or possibly through him or her. That is, when students respond to something said by one of the

other students, they typically raise a hand or nod or indicate to the teacher first that they want to speak, and then, when authorized by the teacher, speak to the other student.

This panopticon structure also held for the two observed exercise classes. The exercise classes were meant to give students a chance to work through problems related to the lecture material. This implied a greater level of classroom interaction from students, yet in the observations, all student interaction was mediated by the teacher. This classroom structure did not appear to be contested. Rather the classroom setting within the case field was emplaced with this structure. In other words, panopticism was part of the discourses in place. The interaction order as well was similar to that found in class lectures. Here, students had a more participatory role than they would have in a lecture. However, here too, the main interaction was between student and teacher, with the teacher coordinating participation.

In relation to the decisions in focus, a panopticon structure has implications for the amount of language needed by the lecturer. As shown when discussing "characteristics of users", teaching staff in some cases saw teaching in the case field as not needing much language. As described by permanent staff member Andreas, "The amount of English we need to know in order to teach is maybe 600 words or so". Whether it is possible to teach courses in the case field, in any language, with "maybe 600 words or so" is not a question that has been specifically addressed in this research. The observations carried out would not seem to support this assertion, however. The teacher-centeredness of teaching would imply a need for more language, including greater amounts of vocabulary, rather than less. This is illustrated in the example of Fernanda, a postdoc, preparing to teach her first courses in Danish. She was teaching herself Danish domain vocabulary for the courses, but also indicated a need for more general communicative skills: "it's [a course for students in a

neighboring field], so there will be a lot of blah blah to motivate them also, […], I need to challenge them." In other words, different types of language were needed, both specific terminology but also language to encourage and challenge students taking a course not directly in their main field of study.

In contrast to the view that language is just a tool for delivering content, Fernanda viewed language as the mediational means affording the possibility to do much more. In particular, her view of how she would be using Danish in the lecture hall is resonant of Airey (2011, p. 50), who asserts that "[u]ntil lecturers see their role as one of socialising students into the discourse of their discipline, there can be no discussion of the discursive goals of parallel language education". Fernanda appeared to view herself as in need of language for discursive purposes, so that she could teach in Danish not just to teach content, but also to motivate and challenge her students.

At the same time, with this type of instruction, the active language required of the students (active in the sense of, for example, speaking in class) was relatively low; students could expect that teachers would do all or most of the talking. To give an example, both exercise classes observed were tied to the same lecture course, which was an undergraduate course where permission had been given to teach the course in English. Most (possibly all) the students in the exercise classes were Danish, while the teaching assistants leading the classes were non-Danish-speaking. This meant that the students could expect to hear and speak English during the exercise sessions. However, because of the extent of teacher-centeredness, most students in the two sessions did not speak at any point during the observed period, even though the purpose of the classes was for individual students to present their solutions to homework problems to each other. Whether students were hampered by subject knowledge, or lacked comfort with the language being used, or just had nothing to say that day, is not something that was investigated. What is clear is that not speaking in the

exercise class was not something that was seen as a problem; the primary language burden was on the instructor.

6.1.3 Course Scheduling and Teacher Assignment

All interviewees, in both permanent and temporary positions, had teaching duties, and along with research in the field, teaching was seen as a core part of work in the case department. This section will look at how teachers were assigned to courses, and to the types of courses typically taught by different groups in the department: non-Danish speaking PhDs and postdocs, Danish speaking PhD students and postdocs, members of permanent staff. This information relates to traditional practices of the department. It also relates to the user system of the department, in that it shows how the structure of the department courses was built.

Along with information about how courses were actually assigned in the case department, a clear picture emerged from the interviews of how teaching tasks would normally be assigned in a science department such as the case department. In particular, teaching and career progression would be linked in course assignments, with researchers earlier in their career being assigned courses which were earlier in the degree progression. This structure of teaching characterized the case department and was thus a characteristic of the user system; beyond that, there were indications that this structure was a characteristic of the user system within the case field more generally.

Within this system, PhD students would be primarily assigned duties as teaching assistants (TA's) (as opposed to being the teacher of record for their own courses) at the undergraduate level; as described by PhD student Simon, "PhD students often are teaching assistants […] and also occasionally, but somewhat rarely, teach actual courses". Postdocs

would continue TA'ing, but for higher courses including the *kandidat* level, and would be more likely to have a course of their own at the undergraduate level.

Teaching assignment can be linked to researcher mobility (e.g., Musselin, 2004; Jacob & Meek, 2013). For example, Kjeld, a member of permanent staff, argued that this use of PhD students for lower-level teaching was imported from universities in the United States:

> If you have 1,000 PhD's every year in the United States, there's maybe 200 Americans. The rest are foreigners. And all the young people who do the slave teaching, they are with non-American background. That's how they earn their living for the PhD, by doing this kind of teaching. And we are trying to adopt this system, but the difference is none of these people will be able to speak Danish.

This excerpt refers to "slave teaching", that is teaching the courses that are considered less desirable, possibly as an international teaching assistant (or ITA). Kjeld's assertion is supported by research in this area. For example, Chiang (2009, quoted in Gorsuch, 2012) states that "U.S. research universities depend on international teaching assistants to teach American college students […] basic undergraduate courses in […] technical areas". For Kield, this system was imported from universities in the United States without consideration of the different language challenges that such a system would entail for foreign staff who are not able to teach in the local language of a given department. This would require staff to have proficiency in the local language such that they could effectively teach in the language, and would additionally require the teaching situation itself to be possible in the local language. However, early career researchers, for example at the PhD or postdoc level, were otherwise not expected to use Danish; as temporary staff, English was seen as more important. This

discourse of importance also applied to teaching, and can be seen in how the course assignment process was described.

In contrast to PhD students and postdocs, permanent staff would primarily teach the higher-level courses. They would also teach the large first-year lecture courses, but with the support of several TA's who would run the accompanying exercise courses and who would grade student assignments. Of the permanent staff members I talked to, all of them were able to teach in Danish and English. Whether they were teaching mainly in English, in Danish, or equally between the two varied. A typical workload was that of Christoffer, who noted,

> for many years I've been teaching one first-year course, and then I taught a fourth year course, so I would teach one in Danish and I would teach one in English, […] and then I had a third course which would sort of move in between, sometimes in English or sometimes Danish.

According to all teaching staff interviewed, both the scheduling of courses and the assignment of teachers from all of these groups to courses was a straightforward process overseen by the director of studies of the department. Maarten, a postdoc, described this process:

> At some point during the year, we get a full list of courses that need to be taught, and then we can sign up for those. So usually, with the people that are really lecturing, they will be asked first, so it's sort of clear who will be the lecturer, but for the exercise classes it's sort of a signing up process where you can say what you would like to teach, and then they try to accommodate to that.

This process shows that teacher assignment happened from the top level downwards, starting with the choice of lecturers, and with the selection of TAs taking place afterwards. None of my informants found the process to be difficult. However, as seen in Kjeld's statement above, and as with other communication areas in the department, varying Danish language proficiency was a limiting factor in relation to teacher allocation. This can be seen in a first-round interview, where postdoc James described the thought processes that he used when choosing what areas he could work in:

> For the postdocs and PhD students, we all go through this list and rank the courses by order in in which we feel competent to teach them because there's some, I mean there are some things that everybody knows, but those tend to be the courses that are taught in Danish, and then once you get to the graduate level, there are certainly things that I'll be more comfortable teaching than others.

This shows that even in the pre-decision period, language was a limiting factor for a non-Danish speaker. James referred to courses that "everybody knows", but that not everybody could teach as they were taught in Danish. This is an obvious point but an important one, that non-Danish speakers cannot teach in Danish. Of the courses that were taught in English, these were more specialized, meaning that not everybody would be equally able to teach them. These may also have been courses with lower enrollment. For James, this meant that he expected to have very little teaching during his postdoc period at DU, as he had not yet done teaching in the department at the time of our interview, and some of the courses he had been assigned to do had been cancelled due to a lack of student sign-ups. It could be argued that, for non-Danish speaking staff, their lack of Danish constrained their teaching options, in the same way that it constrained member status in relation to other departmental

work situations such as meetings. This is shown for James in this excerpt. In speaking of meetings (a non-teaching situation), James had stated that "all the meetings that are somehow relevant to me professionally are in English". At the same time, not having Danish prevented James from being able to teach "things that everybody knows", and in the long run prevented him from taking full teaching responsibilities in the department.

Just as meetings or e-mails in Danish were viewed as non-relevant or unimportant to postdocs, none of the temporary staff interviewed overtly portrayed the constraints on what they could teach as an issue. It was clear that they would be teaching in English, and that only courses given in English were available for them to teach. It was also seen as an option to ask for exemptions to be given so that postdocs could in fact teach EMI courses also at the undergraduate level. For example, at the time of the first interview, Fernanda indicated that she had been teaching such a course, but that special permission had been given for it to be given in English. In her words, "this was a course where we had to ask […] to make an exception about the rule that everything has to be in Danish, at the bachelor level". Interestingly, this took place in the time immediately before the official implementation of the rules regarding language of instruction, but it was not clear if this was anticipating the new rules (Fernanada speculated that the rules were in effect "because we had to ask for permission"), or if it had been practice also before that. In either case, it was not seen as difficult to get the exemption: "we had to ask for permission, so they said yes because we were two postdocs teaching it".

During the observation phase, which took place after the new rules went into effect, I observed an undergraduate course being taught in English by a postdoc (not one whom I interviewed). When I asked how he had come to teach the course, he was unclear on how the course came to be in English, whether special permission had been sought or if it was one of a limited number of undergraduate EMI courses that had been authorized. He explained it as

a question of how many teachers were available who could teach that particular course, and that there were not enough Danish speaking teachers to go around, which is not something that I was able to confirm. That courses were still given by postdocs in English as the undergraduate level showed that such a thing was possible, which might impact the options available for at least some foreign postdocs. Gaining permission for temporary staff to teach courses earlier in the course progression also served to more closely match course assignments to the order described by Kjeld at the beginning of this section, with teaching progression in terms of level taught correlating to career progression within the field.

Whatever the situation, for Danish-speaking PhDs and postdocs then, there would appear to have been more options available, that is more courses in which they could teach or TA. However, as described by Simon, speaking Danish at this level could actually be constraining. He described the situation for Danish PhD students such as himself, who he said were "virtually certain" to TA for one of the large first-year lecture courses at some point in their PhD period:

> Simon: there's a bit of an imbalance here between the Danish speaking and the non-Danish speaking PhD students, that if you do speak Danish, then the department is going to need you to take one of [the large first-year] courses.
> Kim: Yeah, and I get the idea that that's not the best assignment.
> Simon: It is not, I suppose, a particularly interesting course, in the sense that it is obviously first year stuff, things we learnt years ago, and, well it's fairly, it's very straightforward, not very interesting in that way and there's a fairly heavy teaching load because since these are the first courses, the teaching load on the students is rather heavy.

This illustrates that while not speaking Danish could limit the types of courses one can teach, speaking Danish as a temporary employee could also have a limiting effect, in that the Danish speaker used the teaching hours they had teaching at the first-year level rather than at higher levels which might have been more interesting. This excerpt also illustrates how teaching would be set up according to Kjeld's assertion that PhD students are to do the "slave teaching", but that in a Danish context, this way of using PhD students did not work because of a lack of Danish competency. With those PhD students who did speak Danish, such as Simon, the weight of "slave teaching" fell disproportionally on them.

Some postdocs that were interviewed also noticed the difference in teaching load for Danish speaking staff. Maarten stated that "especially the Danish PhD students here, they have to teach in all these first-year courses, which are very elementary. Um, so not very interesting [in terms of the case field]". For Fernanda, teaching was not distributed in the way that would be expected if language were not a constraining factor; as she states, "you are kind of forcing the Danish people to do the courses at the bachelor level which are maybe not the most interesting from a research perspective, and then you have to put the foreigners to do the master's level." These quotes show again a clear divide between Danish speaking members of staff and non-Danish speakers in the department. The excerpts from Simon and Maarten show an additional divide between Danish speaking members in the department, and Danish speaking participants such as Simon. For both Simon and Fernanda, course level was connected with interest level for the teacher; bachelor level courses were "not very interesting" for Simon, and "not the most interesting" for Fernanda.

Because of the imbalance which Simon, Maarten, and Fernanda referred to, it was harder to assign teaching based on career level. The result was that non-Danish speaking PhDs and postdocs had limited choices, and Danish speaking PhDs and postdocs in theory had more choices, but in practice ended up getting disproportionate amounts of low-level,

high-workload TA'ing because of their Danish knowledge. According to Simon, it was not only Danish PhD students who would be affected by this shift in how teaching could be assigned:

> The result of [the decisions] would be that the higher level courses would tend to follow the people who do not speak Danish, who are often in some sense outsiders, […] postdocs and people who are here temporarily, and that was one of the main complaints, that you would end up […] where the most advanced courses could not be taught by the people who are actually here permanently, because they are all busy with the lower level courses.

This excerpt shows clearly a divide between members and participants in the department, that is between "people who are actually here permanently" who presumably speak Danish, and "people who do not speak Danish, who are […] outsiders". Interestingly, it was Simon, himself employed in a time-limited PhD position, who with this excerpt made the strongest statement of the interrelationship between teacher staffing and Danish proficiency levels of teaching staff.

Some of the permanent staff took a similar view. Kjeld, for example, described possible future teaching assignment under the new rules:

> I mean we have maybe thirty foreign PhD students and post-docs. And they have to do some teaching. But now they cannot teach in the first three years because of the new policy. So eventually it could be that all the permanent staff will only have to teach the first-year elementary courses, and all the more exciting advanced courses are given by post-docs.

This excerpt illustrates that the previous user system for teaching in the department was being subverted. Kjeld implied that permanent staff would give “the more exciting courses”, but that with the case decisions, they will “only have to teach […] elementary courses. At the same time, postdocs who would otherwise be teaching undergraduate courses (that is, those courses given “in the first three years”) would be teaching at the graduate level.

Kjeld’s view was echoed by fellow permanent staff member Jeppe, who said, “it means that if you speak Danish, you're more likely to get one of the first or second year courses”. When asked how if he felt this was a positive or not, he replied “No, it's seen as a disadvantage, so it's a disadvantage to be a Danish speaker here”. Again, the higher-level courses were seen as more desirable to teach: “There's more prestige [in the higher-level courses] and it's usually more connected to your own research, so sometimes you learn something yourself by teaching these more advanced courses”. Again, this shows a subverting of what would otherwise be seen as the standard way of doing things in the department.

All of these examples of the subversion of the normal operating procedures reflected the difference between permanent, Danish speaking members and temporary, non-Danish speaking participants that was similar to that described for work situations outside of the classroom. For a situation such as a meeting, the discourse of importance applied, meaning that for temporary staff, anything perceived to be important was done in English. For the classroom, the same may have apply, with importance being judged in two ways: by what is more interesting to teach, and what was appropriately taught at any one career level. The user system of the department would indicate that teaching should be assigned based on career level, with lower-level courses assigned to teachers who were earlier in their career progression. At the same time, permanent members of staff, who were highest in the career pecking order, could on balance expect to have more interesting assignments. To the extent

that this would not be possible with the new decisions, the perceived discourse of importance could not be maintained. In the same way, there was a discourse of flexibility to be found in the classroom. However, flexibility in assigning teachers was perceived as being compromised with a strengthening of Danish as a language of instruction at the undergraduate level.

6.2 Language Use in the Classroom and in Research

Once the courses as a whole had been set up and teachers allocated, the decision-making process moved to the individual course level. The following sections overview language use in classes which were officially in Danish and which were given in Danish (section 6.2.1), and in classes that were scheduled and given in English (section 6.2.2). Data is drawn from both interview data and also observation notes for lectures and exercise sessions. Particular focus is on the transmission of terminology, that is, how students got exposed to domain-specific vocabulary in both Danish and English. The way in which students were assessed is also relevant, but as it is discussed more thoroughly later on, it will only be touched on in passing here. In addition to focusing on the undergraduate and master's level classrooms, one additional section investigates language use at still later levels, from PhD studies onwards. This section (6.2.3) views language used in research by Danish speakers as a continuation of that found in undergraduate and graduate study programs.

The structure of these sections follows the progression of a student in the department through their undergraduate and master's level studies, then, for those opting to continue, into post-graduate studies. By analyzing language use in the classroom at different points in that process, it is possible to see how Danish and English are differently prioritized, moving from

a practically all-Danish environment in the first-year undergraduate studies to an essentially all-English environment for post-graduate research.

6.2.1 Danish in the Classroom

The first focus is on the use of Danish in the classroom. Danish was used as the exclusive medium of instruction for the first year of undergraduate studies, and as the primary medium of instruction for the remaining two years. However, even within Danish instruction over the span of an undergraduate course of study, the role of Danish became progressively more minimal relative to English, particularly in regards to required reading materials.

For first year courses, the Danish language was emphasized, because of the importance given to Danish vocabulary at this level, especially for that part of the student population which would need to have Danish terms either for teaching related subjects in secondary schools, or who would go on to work in Danish organizations (either in the public sector or in private firms) with primarily Danish speaking customers. Having domain-specific vocabulary for these students was seen as a priority, shown for example by permanent staff member Casper: “the first couple of years in university we know what everything is called, and we try to pass it on, or I would certainly try to pass this on and try to teach people the correct way of [using Danish terms]”. Most (though not all) textbooks and course materials at this level were in Danish, which supported the learning of domain specific vocabulary in Danish.

This view of the first year could be seen as a bridge between secondary school classes and university, with the language kept in the Danish L1 of the majority of students. Here the students were seen as new both to the university and to the use of English outside of English

language classes. They were not expected to have built up experiences using English for content courses; their experience as students, which had been incorporated into their historical body, was that of secondary school students in Denmark. Similarly they did not yet expect courses to be in English; their discourse expectations for the classroom and lecture room were also primarily Danish.

For the second and third year (which is to say, the remainder of the undergraduate education), the balance shifted in Danish-language courses to having more input in English, and less in Danish. At this point, students were no longer new to the university space; they had had a year to build experience of being university students. At this point, as English was introduced, the students' focus could then broaden towards including more English, and to becoming accustomed to learning in English through textbooks, even when lectures and spoken input would still be in Danish. By this point, most textbooks were in English. This use of English textbooks was not confined to the case department, but was common throughout the faculty. The most representative view on why English language texts might be used in Danish medium classrooms was given by the person interviewed from the Faculty of Science (FoS), here speaking for the faculty as a whole:

> FoS: Textbooks, that can be in Danish or in English, because we, I mean Danish is such a little language and you are already quite specialized when you start studying [various science fields] so it's not required that it is in Danish and sometimes it's definitely an advantage that it's in English.
>
> KC: […] Why an advantage if it's in English?
>
> FoS: Because […] if you want to, you know, produce a really good textbook, it's a lot of work to do that, and so it's not really an economy in doing that, if it's for a very

> little market […] like in many fields you will have extremely good American textbooks, that are, and so you would get a less good quality if [they were in Danish].

According to Pecorari et al. (2011, p. 314-15), a primary reason that English-language textbooks are used in classrooms in countries such as Denmark is that "the production values of textbooks published for the United Kingdom or United States markets are often higher than those of locally published materials". The faculty spokesperson's words echoed this, speaking of "extremely good American textbooks" which contrasted with "less good quality" textbooks available in the local market. The Faculty of Science interviewee prioritized the quality of the textbook over the language of the textbook, in order to provide what was felt to be the best instruction for the students in the faculty. In this way, the role of language was seen as less important than that of content. Language was here also seen as a tool for delivering content, rather than an extra element to be taught within the classroom.

Those who were teaching in Danish also commented that they often used English language textbooks. In contrast to the faculty spokesperson's prioritizing of content over language, some interviewees saw the use of English language textbooks in a Danish language class as causing terminology difficulties for students when doing assignments or exams in Danish. This was illustrated by permanent staff member Rasmus: "There's a requirement that things should be taught in Danish, and then the exercises or the problems for the examination should be in Danish also, [which] is sort of awkward, in particular if you use the English textbook anyway". In first round interviews, several members of permanent staff gave examples where students mistranslated a term into Danish for an assignment or on an exam by sticking too literally to the English expression, despite there being an equivalent Danish term which was clearly different: As Kjeld put it, "it's terrible, the terminology the students get out of the air, so they make their own translations of the English words which make no

sense in Danish". That teaching staff noted these issues with Danish terminology indicated that language in fact was also important alongside of content, and that students not knowing the terminology in Danish at this level was to some extent considered to be a problem.

In addition to externally published textbooks, it was typical for courses to have internally produced course notes, that is to say a compendium-style book written by one of the teachers (or past teachers) of a given course. These gave extra information and support to students apart from what was found in the textbook, and may have also better aligned with how a given teacher tackled the issues under focus in a given course. Permanent staff varied in terms of whether they compiled these notes in Danish or in English. For some, course notes were a way to provide more Danish support, including terminology support, to students. An example of this approach was given by permanent staff member Anders: "in all of the courses we use this English textbook, the worksheets and exercises and whatever I hand out is in Danish".

For others though, all written material used in the classroom was in English. Andreas described this type of approach in his teaching:

> I haven't changed my written materials, so that's still in English, but we had a long time idea that we wrote everything in English, and then if there was a foreign student in our class, then we changed the language to English, and if there was not, we taught in Danish.

In this excerpt, Andreas was referring to an older policy in the department where all written material was to be in English, also at the undergraduate level. According to Kjeld, this policy was a recent one: "Suddenly some 10 years ago, it was suddenly decided that everything should be in English from the second year, the course material and so on, so I

spent a whole summer translating my notes from Danish to English." With the faculty decisions, there was no requirement to translate the notes back however, and so teaching staff such as Andreas had made the choice not to do so. From an InnT framework, this example fit in the category of experience of previous reformers. It referred to a previous language policy reform, the results of which were in this case clear; a decision to switch language, in this case towards English as the language of course materials, had been broadly accepted, with the case decisions allowing teaching staff the opportunity to choose either to keep with English or to move back to Danish for certain course materials.

The final element of written support was the in-class visuals, in the form of powerpoint slides and written notes during a lecture using a whiteboard or chalkboard. Of the Danish-language courses I observed, these were in Danish. I did not notice obvious English terms in the slides. However the lecturer in one observed class commented afterwards that he had noticed some things which had not been changed to Danish. In many cases these classroom visuals, along with the lecture itself, were the main sources of Danish and Danish terminology found in Danish-language courses after the first year.

In investigating the Danish language classroom, it is tempting to take a view in keeping with Kling Soren's (2013, p. 5) model (overviewed in section 2.3) which compares a "traditional L1 content course" with an EMI one. In her formulation, the traditional course in Denmark is assumed to be composed of a Danish native speaker teacher teaching a "homogenous student population" who are also Danish speaking. The common factor of a shared native language implies also a shared culture and, specifically, a shared education culture. This model served to describe many of the courses given in Danish in the case department, but not all. Though I was not able to interview any non-Danish permanent staff who taught in Danish, I was able to observe a lecture in Danish given by a non-native speaker of Danish, one of at least a handful of non-Danish L1 speakers teaching in the department.

Through my interviews with permanent staff, it became clear also that there were non-Danish native speakers who are taking courses in Danish. Kjeld referred to a growing number of students from Southern Europe taking such courses: “I suppose it’s connected to the economic crisis in those countries, so they come here and by taking say a whole degree here, then they hope maybe to be able to enter the Danish market”. While it is not possible to fully explore language issues for these groups with the data collected, it is important to note that the groups exist, showing that Danish-language instruction is not as homogenous as has been previously imagined, with differences in language background, cultural background, and pedagogical cultural background leading to more challenging classroom situations than would be the case where everyone shared Danish language, culture, and pedagogical culture.

6.2.2 English in the Classroom

The one time in the life of a Danish student (or foreign student choosing to study in Danish) in the case department where they were guaranteed to have courses and materials in Danish was in the first year of their university studies. Before the implementation of the case decisions (and also afterwards because of the possibility of exemptions being given and due to some courses in English being negotiated), students could start to also have courses which were officially given in English starting in the second and third year of their studies. In Danish classes given in this level, the presence of written materials such as textbooks in English served to give experience with written English which could be incorporated into students’ historical body. At the same time, the possibility of taking courses offered in English meant that the same habituation would occur also with students listening to English.

Post-implementation of the decisions, the number of courses given in English could be more or less the same for all students due to a set number of ECTS points being negotiated

in English in a more consistent way. In contrast, before the decisions, not all students ended up having the same number of EMI courses in the second or third years, as described by Andreas:

> Some [students] got upset because they were, quote, unlucky that they took a lot of courses in a row where there happened to be a couple of foreigners; […] you can end up getting a lot of courses in English if you're unlucky, or [no] courses in English, so everything in Danish and then they were the lucky ones.

The use of the terms "lucky" to describe Danish students taking courses in Danish, and "unlucky" to describe Danish students taking a number of courses in English, shows that it was seen as advantageous from the Danish student perspective to take courses given in Danish. The student was not yet perceived to be discursively ready or to have enough experience with using English in the classroom. For this reason, the decision to mandate undergraduate instruction in Danish was seen as one which Danish students would be positive about. Andreas for example described both himself and his Danish students as being able to perform better in courses given in Danish as "I'm also sure that the level of understanding among the students is lower when it's communicated in English than when it's communicated in Danish."

While the students were not a focal point of the interviews, other interviewees also commented on the level of the students. Danish-speaking members of permanent staff contrasted student English level with their Danish level. Non-Danish speaking temporary staff did not make this comparison. For example, Fernanda, a postdoc, commented, "I doubt the students have problems with English, they are all o.k. Maybe they are not o.k. with the speaking, but at least they can understand lectures in English, it's perfectly fine." For fellow

postdoc Marco, “all [students] actually speak English”, but “sometimes they are maybe too shy to try to ask questions in class in front of everybody in English and this can be a problem for some of the students absolutely”. So for both Fernanda and Marco, while they saw the English level of the students as being sufficient, it was clearly not sufficient enough to enable at least some of the students to participate fully in the classroom. In this, their impressions match the findings of the literature on EMI and its effects on students more generally, where students are seen as less likely to participate or ask questions in the classroom (Airey & Linder, 2006), with Andreas’s comment indicating an accompanying lower level of understanding of English lectures by Danish students (e.g. Airey & Linder, 2006; Hellekjær, 2010).

While students might feel more comfortable with courses in Danish, there was at least one teaching staff member interviewed who took a different view. Dieter, a non-Danish visiting professor, seemed to see the challenge of learning the content in a foreign language as an advantage:

> [Students are] always afraid because [the subject area] is already so hard that they don’t want to have an additional hardship by learning it in English, but actually I think it’s a very good idea to, to do it in the lower level classes as well because then they see that learning [the subject] is really about learning a different language.

Dieter equated learning the subject matter as learning a foreign language, and for him then the foreign language instruction would add rather than subtract from the content learning. This viewpoint resonates with Airey’s (2012) view that all classroom learning involves CLIL or language learning; it does not address what might be needed to support students through

the experience of learning both a different subject and of learning that subject in a different language.

Danish students were not the only ones who experienced EMI as discursively challenging, though this was not acknowledged by all Danish interviewees. From the teaching point of view, the decisions were in general not seen as favorable for strategic reasons related for example to teacher assignment. However, from the view of the Danish speaking teacher who would be teaching in either Danish or English, there were some clear advantages to being able to teach more in Danish. Rasmus described teaching a course in Danish after having taught primarily in English as "a big relief". When asked to elaborate on this, he added:

> I was surprised, that it was that big a relief, but it is, I mean it's much easier for me to speak Danish, and I don't get tired as quickly, and I have better possibilities to sort of rephrase things in another way and give good examples.

Although Rasmus had extensive experience teaching in the EMI classroom, to where he felt he could teach as effectively in either language, it was a surprise to find that Danish gave him advantages. A similar description was given by Andreas, who said, "I cannot teach the same at the same depth [in English] as when I'm teaching in, in Danish". He elaborated on this later: "I mean I'm more loose, more, I can give a joke in Danish that I probably wouldn't give when I'm teaching in English, I mean it's more formal when I teach in English". Again, this fits in with the literature on EMI and its effects on teachers. In particular, it supports previous research, finding that it is more difficult to attain the same depth when teaching in a foreign language (Tange, 2010); that it is not as possible to use redundancy as a pedagogical tool (Vinke, 1995); and that teaching in a foreign language is more formal than equivalent

teaching given in an L1 (Thøgersen & Airey, 2011). It must be pointed out that, while Danish L1 teachers felt in general that there were advantages in teaching in Danish, they also tended to feel that their teaching in English was adequate. For example, while Andreas could see himself as a more effective teacher in Danish, he said that teaching in English was "not a big problem for me."

Just as Danish-language courses were not in practice completely carried out in Danish, nor were English-language courses entirely in English. However, the areas which were not in keeping with the official language of the course were different. In the English-language courses observed, the lectures were entirely in English, as were almost all of the written materials. For example, a pilot course I observed was using one book which was only available in Danish, but this was presented to me as being an exceptional situation for the case field. Other languages were heard in the observations, not during the lectures, but rather in the interactions between students, between students and teachers, in the "between" times such as at breaks, and in the minutes before and after the lectures. The class session itself was in English but, just as with the lunch room setting for department staff, language use in the breaks in the teaching was decided by interaction order, that is, based on the language abilities of conversation partners or the discursive expectation that other languages were permitted in these in between times. At these times, students could be heard conversing in English, but also in Danish, and in other shared languages.

Students could also be heard asking questions to the teacher in Danish (when the teacher was known to be able to speak or to understand Danish). This use of Danish in an otherwise English language setting affirmed the findings of Söderlundh (2010), who looked at EMI instruction in a Swedish university. Söderlundh concluded that the Swedish language had special status as it was able to be used in a way that only English could otherwise be used; that is to say that students with other linguistic backgrounds could not be assured of

being able to use their languages to interact with their instructors, while Swedish could often be used in this way. A similar status could be argued for Danish at DU, even in EMI courses. This does not mean that only English and Danish were options from within the classroom or lecture hall. My research did not focus on use of other languages. However, during one observed lecture, I heard a student asking for and receiving clarification from the teacher, where both the student and teacher were using Spanish, showing that English was not the only language available for non-Danish speaking students to use with teaching staff.

While in the courses offered in Danish, there were opportunities to encounter both Danish domain-specific terms (in the lectures) and English ones (in the course materials), there was less opportunity for hearing Danish terminology in courses offered in English. Danish teaching staff had the ability to also present Danish terms in the course so that Danish students could learn them. Simon, speaking in his role as a TA, described situations where "despite the course officially being in English, the lecturer may occasionally interject some Danish translations of various names and concepts just for the Danish students." Not all teachers talked about doing this, however, and I did not witness this being done in the EMI courses observed.

Just as assumptions of homogeneity in Danish language classrooms did not always hold, the traditional view of the EMI classroom being taught by a Danish L1 teacher, as represented by Kling Soren (2013, p. 5) was also not always the correct one, and, in fact, with the growth of foreign staff in the case department, EMI content courses would increasingly be taught by non-Danish L1, and possibly non-Danish speaking instructors. One area where a Danish L1 teacher might differ from a non-Danish speaking teacher was in the area of terminology. While Danish-speaking instructors fronting EMI courses had the possibility to provide Danish terminology support for students who might need it, non-Danish speaking instructors would almost by definition not be able to offer this extra terminology support for

Danish students. This issue was clearer for non-Danish L1 speakers teaching in Danish-medium classrooms. Fernanda, for example, who had been assigned her first teaching in Danish, was studying the domain-specific vocabulary necessary for that classroom setting. In an EMI classroom, the lack of Danish terminology support would not be a problem in the same way, but would still be a factor in Danish student's vocabulary development within the case field. The result of this is that students might learn the domain specific terminology in English, but not in Danish, as described in the previous section. As shown there, in Danish language courses, problems with domain specific terminology would be revealed in assignments and oral exams where Danish students were using Danish. In the English classroom, this was not a problem unless the students chose to do their assignments or exams in Danish, something no longer technically allowed under the new rules.

At the *kandidat* level, the trend towards more English and less Danish continued. At this point, courses were more and more in English, and following the decisions, would be completely in English. Likewise, the students in these courses, coming either from courses outside of Denmark, or from courses in Danish departments (primarily the case department) would receive more and more input in English, first written, then spoken. Here the same issues applied that were relevant for students in second and third year courses. As well, the development of the Danish students' historical body experiences with English meant that they were expected to be even more able to encounter and succeed in EMI instruction. Along with exposure to English language textbooks and course materials, and instruction given in English, written work and exams were mandated to be carried out in English, including final projects for the degree as a whole.

So far, the Danish student has been represented as becoming increasingly able in English over the course of undergraduate and master's level instruction in the department. However, this did not reflect the experience of all Danish students. For example, at the time

of the second interview, Christoffer spoke of an ongoing case of a student for whom this part of the new rules was of particular interest, as this student was considering applying for an exemption to write her final thesis in Danish, as opposed to writing it in English as mandated by the new policies making the language used in programs more consistent. According to Christoffer, the student was asking primarily because of her English level: "[the student] says, 'my English is not good enough', she does not feel that she can write the thesis in English, but it's the requirement now." While not against the idea of the student getting an exemption to write her thesis in Danish, Christoffer brought up the issue of terminology; that is, that this student might have problems with Danish terminology after doing coursework primarily in English or with primarily English language written materials. In relation to the assistance this student might need with this, he commented, "I get a little annoyed sometimes when I'm asked, how does that translate to Danish, because I don't know." This indicated that at least for this one interviewee, students were expected to have shifted to English instead of Danish, at least in the area of domain terminology. The question of terminology in English and in Danish is a recurring one which becomes more salient in higher levels of research, in particular from the doctoral level on, and is covered in the following section.

6.2.3 The Role of English and Danish in Research

Up to now, discussion has centered on Danish and English in the classroom at the undergraduate and *kandidat* levels. This section addresses what happens when a student moves beyond this level, and the transition from graduate student to researcher within the case field. In contrast to Danish L1 undergraduate students, who were not yet expected to have built up historical body experiences using English as a language of study or research,

the Danish L1 post-graduate was expected to be able to use English in all academic situations.

Expectations that everyone could and would use English were especially apparent for research. Of course, expectations were not the same for all stakeholders in the department. For students at lower levels, they were viewed as not being part of the larger community of the case field. For them, it was nonetheless seen as a positive to master the vocabulary of the field in English. Danish students (particularly but not only those directed towards locally situated job paths) were also expected to master the vocabulary up to a certain point in Danish, though what that certain point was after which Danish vocabulary knowledge was not as important was not well-defined. At the postgraduate stage, orientations towards the vocabulary of the field were quite different. Here, the progressive shift to English continued at the expense of Danish.

How interviewed Danish members of the case department saw the use of English in their own research is similar to that found by Kuteeva and Airey (2013, p. 546), namely that "the switch between languages may be viewed as relatively unproblematic in the sciences, since this is often 'simply' a question of translating terminology". This was especially evident at higher levels, where there came a point where there might not be a Danish equivalent for English terminology, particularly in more specialized areas of the field. In relation to Danish terminology for graduate students, opinions varied more, in particular starting at higher-level graduate studies. PhD students, for example, generally wrote their dissertations in English in the field, but with two abstracts, one in English and one in Danish. Often when writing the Danish abstract, a PhD student would be confronted with the question of how to render in Danish central concepts in their research for which Danish terms simply did not exist. There was as yet no uniformly agreed upon solution as to how to translate such terms, nor had any

mechanism been developed for disseminating the translations of terms to later researchers who may come to need Danish terms for the same concepts.

In response to this problem, a continuum of approaches existed, one of which was exemplified by Casper, a member of permanent staff, who spoke on issues related to translating terminology into Danish from an English model. One example given (which because of the anonymization of the department cannot be specified here) was a term in English which had both a general everyday meaning and a more domain-specific specialized one. Casper commented, "I know how to translate it into Danish, but I don't know how to translate it in a [field-specific] way". He also discussed the issue in relation to PhD students. In his experience, students "take [the Danish terminology] very seriously then; when they actually have to do it, they try to do it right." He contrasted this with his perception of opinions held by colleagues at higher research levels:

> When it comes to my colleagues, I think there's a big difference, I mean I'm sure you can talk to some of my colleagues who will say that it's completely irrelevant to have a Danish vocabulary in [this field], and I would have to agree at you know, at some level, it doesn't make sense because if you're the only Danish [researcher in this field] doing something, I mean and all of your colleagues are abroad, why bother, but I think in general, […] I think it's a shame if we don't have the capacity of speaking [about this field] in Danish [after] let's say the fourth year of university studies, or something like that.

From this excerpt, it appeared that Casper saw a greater need for Danish terminology for graduate students than for himself. In contrast to the approach taken by Casper was the example of Christoffer, who reported advising a student in a similar situation to "make it up

whatever way you like". For Christoffer, while Danish was his first language, he saw English as a first language in certain domains: "[English is] certainly not my first language when we talk about everyday things, but when we talk about science, it really is the first language." This idea, that the first language of one's research area can be different than one's first language overall, is in distinct agreement with the research on EMI, which showed a tendency for researchers to have a stronger domain terminology in English which would not be reflected in their English abilities in other areas (Tange, 2010). It also is the logical end point leading from the first year Danish student who was not expected to have experience learning scientific subject matter through the medium of English through to a researcher who entered the research setting with a history of using English within their historical body and with knowledge of the discourse of scientific research each leading them to view English as the one language to use rather than for example Danish. Of course for Christoffer, who spent his PhD and early career years outside of Denmark, this historical body experience would have been intensified.

Regardless of one's viewpoint about the level of need for translation of terminology from English to Danish, or for the need for specialized Danish terminology in the case field, in the end, abstracts were written in Danish with the terminology present in Danish. What was missing was standardization; there was no consistent way of utilizing previous efforts such as already finished PhD dissertations to aid future researchers who might be in need of the same terminology. Interviewees noted also that different departments in the case field in different Danish universities had different approaches towards solving this dilemma, with some using more English terms directly in their Danish speaking or writing, and others (such as the case department) making more effort to use specifically Danish terminology, even if such terminology had to be invented by department researchers. The Danish teachers who were interviewed spoke of possibly making a standardized glossary of terminology in Danish,

aimed primarily at non-Danish researchers in the department who were to teach, or were hoping to teach, in Danish, though this had not yet been set up at the time of the interview.

Within the confines of the department, there was often the possibility to write in Danish (if only for writing an abstract) or to collaborate with Danish colleagues using Danish. But those staff pursuing a career in academia reached a point where practically everything was done in English. This was not just in relation to Danish research; Dieter explained that he had not published in his native German for audience considerations, saying "if I want to publish something, I will always publish in English although there might be some journals that would accept articles in German, but if you want it to be read, then it has to be in English". Simon had a similar view in relation to Danish, using it also to explain the lack of Danish terminology: "some of the more advanced [applications] of [the case field], they only really have somewhat informal Danish translations because nobody has ever written a textbook or an article on this in Danish because you would have an audience of maybe ten people." The end result was that articles were written exclusively in English. I asked Danish interviewees if they had ever published in Danish, and in some cases, if it would be possible to publish in Danish, and in all cases the answer was clear: none of the Danes I interviewed had published in Danish, and none saw publishing in Danish as a possibility. The discourses in place around research dissemination were clear; such dissemination was imbued with English, and only English.

In some cases, even the pre-writing process would be carried out in English: for Rasmus, this was logical because:

> It's the language that is used to do this kind of research, so there will be concepts that I will have to think how to describe in Danish, and then I mean, then it's part of a

process that sometimes ends up in papers, and you might as well start and write in English instead of having to translate in the end.

Similarly Casper noted, “Since I have to produce in English at the end of the day, then I usually will do my research which is sort of scribbling or thinking, I'm usually doing that in some kind of English”. Both Rasmus and Casper made the choice to carry out the steps that lead up to writing in English, because the end results would be in English. For Rasmus, an additional factor was how to describe concepts in Danish, which were easier for him to do in English. For both Rasmus and Casper, their use of English in writing and even as part of the pre-writing process could be seen as a part of their own process from undergraduate student in Denmark through to researcher based in Denmark but communicating with a wider field through English.

This growth in international collaboration where English was used as the only lingua franca has led to more and more research work at all career levels were done solely in English, and as researchers in the case field (as in many other academic fields of study) worked in increasingly narrow areas, they reached a point where everything was done in English, and where as a result, no Danish terminology existed. The consensus here, as summarized in the Casper quote above, seemed to be that here Danish was not needed, that if your colleagues are abroad, why bother. This situation led one of my interviewees, Kjeld to fear domain loss.

The younger people seem not to pay special attention that the Danish students learn the Danish terminology. I mean it has become much more common that all PhD students are abroad for a number of years, maybe they take their PhD in the United States, or in another country, and then they are post-docs for three, four years, and

then maybe they spent ten years in the United States, and then come back to Denmark. So they hardly remember themselves the Danish terminology. So why bother about it?

This fear relates directly to the type of domain loss characterized by Hultgren (2011, 2012, summarizing the work of Ravnholt 2008) as "English in Danish" in that it concerns only a certain set of specialized terminology, rather than "English instead of Danish" which would indicate language shift. For Kjeld, who had been in the department for longer than any other person interviewed, "younger people" are seen to not "bother" with Danish terminology, but rather to use English terminology instead. Whether or not this use of English for specialized domain specific terminology could lead to larger loss of Danish terms cannot be shown from the data collected for this study.

One final point to be made about domain loss is the extent to which it can be equated to a lack of competence. When I was first analyzing the data, I placed terminology issues within the *language competency* category, with the thinking that not having words in Danish led to a lack of competency in that area of Danish. However, further analysis has shown that this does not really fit. For one thing, researchers themselves did not present it as a language deficit when words did not exist. Rather, it was presented as vocabulary that was not needed in Danish. On the other hand, this then led to the situation illustrated by Christoffer where Danish is a second language for domain specific terminology, and where scientific domains had become exclusively emplaced with English, with no space for any other languages.

6.3 Shifting, then Shifting Back: Experience of Previous Reformers

The final category found in the antecedents section of the InnT hybrid model is "experience of previous reformers", which is based on the idea that "[w]ise reformers learn from the experiences of their predecessors" (Henrichsen, 1989, p. 104). That is to say, how innovations are received in one instance will offer information about how future innovations might be received. In addition to examining the current status of teaching in the case department, as has this chapter has done, it is also helpful to view how the department might have worked differently previous to the case decisions.

In the case department, changing the language of instruction is something that had already happened prior to the innovations in focus here. Thus looking at this previous case can help understand how the case decisions might be received. Internationalization in the recent past had led to courses at that point being changed from Danish to English, a change which some members of permanent staff referred to. This switch had been fairly recent: Kjeld noted that "for the last ten years, almost all my teaching has been in English, or broken English, or whatever you would call it". Some English had also been present previous to that that ten year period; as illustrated by permanent staff member Mads: "thirteen years ago I taught a second-year course in in English because of a few students not able to speak Danish". PhD student Simon, who was most recently a student in the department, experienced "sort of a gradual shift from Danish to English as the main language" during his pre-PhD studies. Looking at how previous reforms (in this case, shifting instruction from Danish to English) came to be in the department, and how they were adopted or rejected can give insight into how the new decisions might be received.

Kjeld spoke of his experience with that previous change to English: "suddenly some ten years ago, it was suddenly decided that everything should be in English from the second year, the course material and so on...so I spent a whole summer translating my notes from

Danish to English". Earlier in the same interview, he had made another reference to the same process from the point of view of the current innovations, saying "I mean after we have spent hundreds of hours translating our lecture notes to English and so on, now we are suddenly forced to give that up". This indicated that it was seen as a problem in terms of work load to translate notes from Danish to English, but that, for Kjeld at least, the possibly that he would have to translate them back into Danish was also seen as a problem. At the same time, that the switch back to Danish was seen as a problem indicates that having materials in English had become the status quo, that Kjeld would be "forced" to switch rather than switching willingly.

At the same time, as seen in the category "characteristics of users", English in general, and teaching in English in particular, was not seen as a problem in itself by either Danish or non-Danish teaching staff. This project took place too long after the fact to find out people's reactions to teaching in English at that time. It can be inferred, however, that whether or not the changes were seen as difficult at the time, teaching staff was able to adapt to the changes and, in so doing, adopt them. In fact, this happened to such an extent that now going back to Danish at the undergraduate level, that is, to go back to previous policy, was seen by Kjeld, for example, as a potential problem.

Perhaps this was because switching to more English fit in better with trends in the field which were already in place at that time - that it, as researchers, teaching staff were already presenting and collaborating in English, so it was not seen as a stretch. But by that same logic, at least for the Danish permanent staff members who mastered Danish, teaching in Danish should also not have been seen as a stretch. This would indicate that the main issues for teaching staff had more to do with current trends than with previous reforms. As well, teachers who spoke Danish were potentially affected by having more instruction in

Danish, whereas those who were not able to teach in Danish could not be affected by having more instruction in the language.

6.4 Conclusions

This chapter has described situations of language use in classrooms and lecture halls, both to understand the department in terms of the final two antecedent categories of the hybrid model, and to answer the first part of the second research question: How did teaching staff and students report using English and Danish in classroom situations before the implementation of the case decisions?

In order to answer this question, focus has been on both the general features of the classroom, how courses have been set up and teachers assigned, as well as on language use in the classroom. An analysis of traditional pedagogic practices in the case department found that teachers perceived their own use of Danish and English in the classroom to be flexible. Language was viewed as a tool which could easily be switched when needed, similar to the findings of Kuteeva & Airey (2013). At the same time, their actual use of the two languages fell along the same lines as for other communicative situations in the department such as meetings or the lunch room, as sketched out in chapter 5. That is, language choice was based on interaction order, with Danish being the default language, which could be replaced with English based on the presence of non-Danish speakers (most usually exchange students).

As for how teachers were assigned, language was a necessary differentiator of who could teach courses given in either Danish or English. While in other communicative situations in the department, member status was linked in part to both permanent status and to Danish proficiency, for teacher assignment, member-participant hierarchies were to some extent subverted. That is, the traditional assumption that temporary staff (particularly at the

PhD or postdoc level) were to be assigned teaching in higher-workload and less research-relevant lower levels (Chiang, 2009; Gorsuch, 2012) was being challenged. The idea of higher years being taught by permanent staff, with earlier years being TA'd by temporary staff at lower career levels (PhD or postdoc) could not be sustained when temporary staff were not able to teach at these lower levels because of their lack of Danish proficiency.

Investigation into how Danish and English were used in Danish-medium instruction and EMI in the department showed a progression related to the historical body of Danish students, that is, what a given Danish student had experience with when arriving to classes at different levels in the department. Department students confronted English after the first year, first primarily in written form, then in spoken form. Finally as *kandidat* students, they faced English as the sole language of instruction in both oral and written materials. From this progression, students increasing incorporated English into their historical body, and in addition, English became the expected language for discursive situations in the department. As a continuation of this, students going past the *kandidat* level in the case department would reach a point where Danish was not prioritized in any research-related setting apart from collaboration with local colleagues, the results of which would still be disseminated in English.

The final section of the chapter focused on the category of experiences of previous reformers, in particular on the shifts that had taken place upon a previous change of language of instruction from Danish to English. The previous reform which led to more teaching in English in the department at both undergraduate and graduate levels resulted in more courses being given in English. Some interview data suggested that this previous reform was not greeted with total enthusiasm. Nevertheless, by the time of the case decisions, those earlier reforms had become considered the norm inside the department, a fact which may suggest that the case decisions will encounter longer term acceptance as well. On the other hand,

recent increases of international teaching staff might make the case decisions more difficult to fully adapt to in the long run, as will be further explored in the following chapters.

Chapter 7:
Process and Policies

Whereas chapters 5 and 6 focused on the "antecedents" section of the hybrid model, this chapter covers the subsequent "process" section. In the InnT hybrid model, the term "process" refers to the period after the antecedents, that is, from the introduction process up to implementation of an innovation. The aims of the chapter are two-fold. The first part is a discussion of existing language policy approaches in the case department, both explicit and implicit. Then, using the hybrid model, decision-making at the faculty and department will be discussed in relation to the case decisions. This chapter gives an answer to the third research question: How are decisions related to language of instruction made at the faculty level, and at the department level, and how do the two levels influence each other?

In contrast to chapters 5 and 6, which focused solely on the department level, chapter 7 investigates decision-making processes and reactions to such processes at both the faculty and department levels. One theme that emerged is the way in which faculty and department view each other, and possible contrasts between the decision-making style at the two levels. The first section of the chapter, however, focuses on approaches in existence in the department generally towards the role of English and Danish use in non-classroom situations. Along with how the department relates to the faculty, how policy has been made in the department is relevant in understanding how the department oriented to the case decisions. To this end, specific policies related to language use will be overviewed here, as well as information about attitudes towards English and Danish which emerged from interviews with teaching staff.

The following sections focus on the specific categories of the process section of the hybrid model. This part of the model is divided into three categories: "source", "receiver",

and “factors which facilitate or hinder change”. The source of the case decisions is the Faculty of Science at DU. The way in which the decisions were made and communicated to the departments within the faculty fall under this category. Also relevant here is the general decision-making process in the faculty, as well as how this process is perceived by those affected by it. The category of receiver could refer to any of the departments affected by the case decisions, individually or in aggregate, but here will refer exclusively to the case department. Finally, factors which facilitate or hinder change refer to those elements which incline the receivers towards being positive or negative towards the innovations. These tendencies would then lead to an innovation such as the case decisions being ultimately adopted or rejected.

Just as the process section is broken down into three categories: source, receiver, and factors, the second part of the chapter is divided into sections based on these categories. Data analyzed for this chapter came primarily from the first round of interviews. Though these also gave insight into the baseline “antecedents” language situation at the case department, they were technically carried out during the process phase. In other words, the innovations had been at that point recently announced and interview staff were aware to a varying extent of the decisions and had in most cases formed initial opinions of them. This gave the opportunity to assess intended user expectations of the innovations, which were then followed up in the second round of interviews. In addition, this section draws from additional interview data, in particular the faculty member interview, as well as from policy-related documents, to uncover information about the source category.

7.1 Approaches and Attitudes towards Language Use within the Department

Before discussing how the case department oriented towards the case decisions and to

the Faculty of Science as decision makers, it is first necessary to ask how decisions were made within the case department with regard to language use. As described in chapter 6, the department viewed language use, in particular inside the classroom, through a discourse of flexibility. Teaching staff who were able to work in both Danish and English were able to switch language of instruction when it was deemed necessary based on the interaction order set by who was in the classroom situation at any given time. For situations outside of the classroom, overviewed in chapter 5, interviews with teaching staff uncovered the effects of interaction order on language choice in meetings or in the lunch room.

An interview extract from permanent staff member Andreas best exemplifies how both language policy and policy more generally were viewed in the department. He said of the faculty that they "like formality and like rules […]; in the department we like informality all the way through". That is to say, the department was viewed as being different from, or even in opposition to, the faculty in the way they oriented towards rules. This section investigates the second part of Andreas's claim, that the department tends towards "informality all the way through" by focusing on existing policies in the department. More specifically, existing policy approaches are viewed through the discourse of flexibility perceived by the department in relation to their own language use. This focus gives a basis for understanding how the department might understand policy mandated from the top-down as is covered in later sections which deal more specifically with the case decision.

The department viewed itself as flexible in terms of how it approached language use. However, this did not mean that nothing was being done by the department in relation to how language was used, nor that there was a lack of policies relating to language. Based on the everyday practices of interviewees, there would seem to have been three different approaches to language choice in the department. The first way, which I have named "the preservation approach", focused on maximizing the inclusion of temporary staff (in everyday life in

Denmark if not in the department specifically) by emphasizing a selective protection and increase in Danish at the department. The second, labeled "the transition approach", can be interpreted as standing in contrast to the first. It echoed trends seen in other higher education settings in Denmark and elsewhere in Europe (e.g. Coleman, 2006), towards an increase in English and concomitant decrease in Danish usage in the department. The final approach, called "the parallel approach", involved using the two languages together in keeping with the concept of parallel language use which is often held up as an ideal in Nordic settings (Nordic Council, 2007). Each approach had advantages and disadvantages. In particular, each one carried with it different understandings of the role of Danish and English in the case department which could lead to different language planning, especially in terms of status and acquisition planning.

These three approaches dealt with language use generally at the department, and were not specifically related to teaching situations or to language of instruction. However, they each one had implications for language use within the classroom. In particular, they revealed attitudes towards Danish and English which also reflected attitudes towards how each was used, or how each could potentially be used, as a language of instruction, attitudes which are further explored later on, following discussion of the three policy approaches. The investigation of both existing policies in the department and language attitudes found there helped deepen the understanding of how the department oriented to the case decisions.

7.1.1 Approach #1: The Selective Preservation of Danish

The first approach is characterized by the selective preservation of Danish, and is thus labeled "the preservation approach". This seemed to be the approach being taken by the head of the department and, as such, was the closest thing observed to an "official" language

policy at the department, although it was not presented as such. There were two main features of this approach, each of which could be seen to target different employee groups within the department. For permanent staff holding member status in the department, there was the continued use of Danish together with an expectation of Danish knowledge. For temporary staff with participant status, this approach could be seen with the provision by the department of Danish language training for interested staff members.

The first part of this approach related to permanent staff. As shown in the previous sections, having full membership in the case department was correlated in large part with having communicative competency in Danish. For example, meetings for permanent staff were always held in Danish. In cases where a member of permanent staff did not have the expected Danish level, the impetus was on that staff member to learn Danish rather than on the others in the meeting to, for example, switch the meeting away from Danish. E-mails to permanent staff were also primarily written in Danish. The head of department (HoD), for example, said that when writing to staff, "for the permanent faculty, I always write in Danish". When asked if all the recipients knew Danish, he said:

> HoD: Well, they have to know Danish, whether they know Danish or not, I mean they…
>
> Kim: They pick it up…
>
> HoD: It's assumed they know Danish, well some of them use Google translate, but I mean /laughs/.
>
> Kim: O.K., but then they can get by, they can understand what's happening.
>
> HoD: Well, I mean if you're permanent faculty, you're supposed to, you know.

This excerpt shows the way in which member status was intertwined with Danish

knowledge as well as with employment in a permanent position. Ultimately, it was the permanent employment that would place someone in the group for whom “they have to know Danish”, but the expectation was that being in that permanent position would indicate Danish knowledge, “whether they know Danish or not”. The interplay between job position and expected Danish knowledge then went together to form the category of member.

This expectation on the part of the head of department that members of the department be able to function in Danish was a form of implicit status planning (Kloss, 1969). This approach affirmed the status of Danish as a language which can be used in certain formal spoken and written settings in the department. For example, meetings for permanent staff also were also held in Danish because it was expected that non-Danish permanent staff would learn enough Danish to function in the department. These expectations served to keep certain situations emplaced with Danish which, in turn, preserved the Danish language as a possible language of meetings in the department. Similarly the fact that e-mail correspondence to permanent staff was sent out solely in Danish had the effect of preserving Danish for that function.

In addition to being an example of status planning, an element of prestige planning (Haarmann, 1990) can also be seen in the preservation approach. Insofar as member status in the department is linked to Danish proficiency, the Danish language can be said to have greater prestige in the sense of having value as a language which gives benefits to those able to speak it.

The expectation that permanent staff, that is those remaining in Denmark, would learn Danish was also expressed by some of the Danish L1 permanent staff members that I interviewed. For example, according to Andreas, a member of permanent staff, “if it's foreigners that are here on a more permanent basis, then of course they have to learn Danish. Then we sort of teach them by switching to Danish, so that they can learn”. In contrast,

“when there are guests that are not obliged to learn Danish then typically we speak in English”. For Andreas then, Danish is the language of membership, meaning that when someone has become a member through a permanent job position, then it becomes natural to communicate with that person in Danish.

The expectation that permanent staff speak Danish, shown in the excerpts from both the Head of Department and Andreas, had implications for the interaction order found in situations where only permanent staff was present. On the surface it could be seen as privileging the member/participant distinction such that usual discourses of flexibility were not seen to be present: for permanent staff not yet mastering Danish, “of course they have to learn Danish. Then we sort of teach them by switching”. This reinforces the idea that the interaction order between members of permanent staff is characterized by the use of Danish. The need for training in Danish is also highlighted so that non-Danish speaking members of permanent staff might be able to obtain the language skills needed to be able to do the things that, as permanent staff, they were expected to be able to do. Ensuring a situation such as this entails acquisition planning, to enable staff to participate in situations where Danish was prioritized.

While the use of Danish for permanent staff can be seen as a form of prestige planning, for temporary staff who were not expected to remain in the department, Danish knowledge was not connected with prestige in the same way, as shown in other studies of researcher mobility (e.g. Musselin, 2004). In fact, temporary staff were not expected to learn the language, but rather to carry out their job duties in English. This was exemplified by Christoffer, a permanent staff member speaking about temporary staff learning Danish:

> I have postdocs and I tell them you don't need to learn Danish. You will find that if you try to invest time in learning Danish, it's gonna be fun, but you will find that very

often people speak English to you, and [won't have] patience with your Danish.

Christoffer viewed Danish learning as "fun", but not something that a temporary member of staff such as a postdoc would actually be able to use on the job, as the language used with temporary staff in the department was English, with Danish speakers not having "patience" with non-fluent Danish. The same discourse expectations which would lead to meetings or other situations taking place in English to accommodate non-member temporary staff meant that Danish learning by temporary staff was seen as superfluous. This could also be seen in permanent staff member Rasmus's comment that "I would not recommend that you spend your time learning Danish if you only have two years" because "people have plenty of things to do". This again showed that in relation to temporary staff, it was seen as preferable to deprioritize Danish learning. The excerpts by Christoffer and Rasmus both show that, in contrast to permanent staff for whom Danish learning is accompanied by benefits, the same benefits did not result for temporary staff learning the language. In terms of prestige planning then, Danish has a prestige for permanent staff that it does not possess for temporary staff.

It appeared that the discourse of flexibility could be be put aside in the case of non-Danish speaking permanent staff (whether in reality or in perception; my inability to interview members of this group meant not having any information about whether employees in this group perceived hearing less English spoken to them on the job than temporary staff would have). However, for non-Danish temporary staff, the perception was that it was natural to switch to English. That is, for this group, interaction order would lead to a switch to English when not everyone in a conversation had communicative ability in Danish.

That being said, even for temporary staff, being able to function in Danish was seen as an advantage to integrating into the life of the department. This was shown in permanent

staff member Jesper's indication that being able to participate in informal discussions in Danish would enable speakers to have greater influence over decision making in the department. It also enabled greater integration in informal situations where, as shown before, Danes would be more likely to revert to (or to stay in) Danish. However in contrast to the focus of the preservation approach on using Danish with members of permanent staff, the use of the approach in relation to temporary staff was seen to give benefits which were less directly job-related. In terms of the status of the language, Danish was deprioritized for work situations, while prioritized for life in Denmark outside of the university.

For integration both within the department and in Denmark more generally, the second half of the preservation approach foresaw the provision of Danish language training to interested department staff, with the department arranging this training during working hours to facilitate participation. This was the clearest example of acquisition planning in the department. In the words of the head of department, "we are trying to give everybody the opportunity to learn Danish […] we think that'll make them have a better experience, and we think that they will be wanting to come back and visit us occasionally". This statement shows that the overt goal of this training had more to do with integrating into Denmark more generally than specifically to carrying out job tasks in the department, which would be primarily in English anyway. To this extent, the basis of the the preservation approach saw the temporary employee as mobile researcher, a finding in keeping with previous research done on researcher mobility. In the case department as in other similar departments across Europe, temporary staff, especially at the postdoc level, were not expected to stay at the department (Musselin, 2004), but to move away after their temporary position had ended. Because of this, language training for job-related tasks made less sense that language training to give "a better experience" which would lead to cross-border networking between the department and other departments where postdocs might later end up.

Without exception, the postdocs and visiting researcher interviewed all spoke positively about having Danish training in the department. This did not mean that everyone who could attend these courses did so. This might have been an issue of motivation; the training was voluntary and not everyone had volunteered, whether because of when the courses were scheduled, or because of a high workload, or for other reasons. In addition to motivation, another sticking point with this approach related to the limitations of language training. How much Danish could be learned, and to what level of proficiency, particularly in the time available to non-permanent staff (who often were employed on temporary contracts lasting three years or less), was an open question. This was exemplified by the interview participants: of the five temporary staff members interviewed, four either were taking or had taken the training from the department, but of those, only Fernanda and Dieter had progressed to a point where they felt they could communicate in the language in any meaningful way either within the department or outside of it.

However, although the goals of the Danish language training given through the department were not primarily meant to lead to substantial use of Danish in the department, the two Danish language teachers I interviewed were teaching courses in the department both for non-Danish speaking staff looking for everyday Danish and those (including non-Danish members of permanent staff) looking to teach or do other tasks on the job in Danish. Additionally, although the expectation was for temporary staff to be in the department a short while and then leave without ever achieving member status, Danish training, in particular the job related training, could also be used to allow temporary staff to gain membership status. This could be seen in the two examples given in chapter 5. Fernanda was able to use her Danish language skills, along with her research profile and other factors, to gain a higher level position and the opportunity to teach courses in Danish within the department. However, Danish could also serve to aid temporary employees such as Dieter, who was able

to use his language skills in his life outside of the university, in keeping with the goals of the training to give the temporary staff member a "better experience" but not aimed specifically at increasing their membership within the department.

7.1.2 Approach #2: The Slow Transition to More English

In contrast to the first approach, the second one emphasized English wherever there were participants without functional competence in Danish. For this reason, this is labeled "the transition approach" as it resulted in a transition to English in an increasing number of departmental situations. Just as the preservation approach was used for meetings and e-mails directed at permanent staff members, the transition approach was used for situations such as those meetings which were of interest also to temporary employees of the department. It was characterized by an excerpt we have already seen, where Anders was describing what language meetings of his research group were held in, and said "most of the members of the section are Danes but a few are non-Danish speakers so we kept the meeting in English". In a similar vein, permanent staff member Jeppe described a meeting with the comment, "you know, we hire people here from many places so the meeting was in English". This is the hallmark of the transition approach. Any situation where all participants could function appropriately in Danish could be kept in Danish. In contrast, any situation where there were non-Danish speakers present was in English, or was switched to English, to ensure that everyone present could fully take part.

Unlike with the first examples, where there were specific cases that could be analyzed, there was no representative situation where a transition from Danish to English took place. Rather, there were many situations where either a non-Danish speaker was present from the beginning, for example at a meeting, or entered into the middle of an on-

going event, as could happen in the lunch room. What is illustrative is how interviewees viewed those situations where this principle was not followed, that is to say when a situation was in Danish despite the presence of staff who could not understand what was going on in Danish. Interestingly, as seen previously, temporary staff did not generally see these situations as problematic; rather situations geared at permanent staff, held in Danish, were seen as non-relevant to the temporary employee.

At the time of this study, Danish language was a prerequisite to full membership in the department. This was true in part because of the historical body of the Danish permanent staff. Older staff members recalled a time when most things were done in Danish and contrasted this to the department now where English was being used on a daily basis for all types of work situations. With the increase in English over time, the historical body of permanent staff members was undergoing transition which led some of them to see the use of Danish as problematic in some situations. For example, permanent staff member Casper described a large meeting where

> somehow it was decreed that this meeting would be in Danish, even though there were people there who were interested in what we were talking about, and didn't feel comfortable or did not understand, and so I don't understand why we don't just switch because everybody understands English.

This same idea can also be seen in Andreas's comment about how not switching to English right away in a lunch room conversation was "considered somewhat rude". In this way, both Casper and Andreas both judged not switching to English in a negative light. It was "somewhat rude" not to switch, so "I don't understand why we don't just switch".

As with the preservation approach, the transition approach had status implications for

Danish and English. Specifically, it increased the status of English in the department for situations where Danish was currently used, while at the same time lowering the status of Danish as a language of communication in workplace situations where it was used. There were language acquisition implications as well. For example, it avoided the potential problem that temporary staff, even those who saw the value in learning Danish and were motivated to learn, would be challenged to reach full competence during a short stay. Even in the best case, they would not be able to participate in work situations in Danish while they were in the first part of their stay in the department. As a corollary, it would lessen the burden on new employees, who would not need to add new language adaptation to the list of challenges facing anyone starting a new position at a new workplace. It would thus lessen the need for acquisition planning in Danish (although it might lead to a greater need for such training in English). There were also prestige planning implications of this approach. In comparison to the preservation approach, which maintained prestige for situations involving permanent staff, the transition approach would emphasize the prestige of English in all situations at the expense of Danish.

Both the preservation and transition approach required some language competence. For the preservation approach, permanent staff were required to be able to work in Danish in certain situations, while both temporary and permanent staff were expected to be able to work in English. The transition approach presupposed as well that everyone had some functional level of English. As shown in the EMI literature (e.g., Airey, 2011; Hellekjær, 2010), this presupposition is problematic, and yet it could be argued that the groups which were seen to have weaker English skills are gradually on the way out. Older Danish staff who tend to be less comfortable with English (Jensen, et al., 2009) would soon be retiring and would be replaced by staff with stronger English skills, and academic staff would undergo training efforts to bring their language level closer to that of the department as a whole.

These trends had implications for the future of both Danish and English in the department. With the preservation approach, it was seen that the discourse of flexibility could be superseded by the requirement to speak and write in Danish to all those with member status regardless of their Danish language proficiency. At the same time, it could be argued that keeping Danish fixed as a language in certain situations kept open the possibility to be flexible generally within the department. By contrast, with the transition approach, department staff could be flexible in regards to when they might switch to English, yet at the same time, as more and more situations happened in English, the discourses in place would also shift, with more areas becoming emplaced with English, leaving less flexibility to use a language other than English. Similarly, Danish speaking permanent staff would continue to have historical body experiences in English, which would lead them to use more English in the future. There was the possibility that at some point, member status as associated with permanent employment might become disconnected from Danish proficiency, and connected to English proficiency.

In addition, having more and more department situations in English, although it could be argued to be the easier choice as it did not require people to learn a language from scratch, also raised problems. In particular, the more the department as a whole shifted to English, the more difficult it would be for non-Danish speakers to become functional in Danish within daily work situations. This was illustrated in permanent staff member Kjeld's comment that "[foreign staff] have not learned to speak sufficient Danish because all the time, they are surrounded by people who speak English to them." That is to say that non-Danish foreign colleagues used have more access to Danish in their daily working environment. In contrast, newer temporary staff have less opportunity to hear Danish. Whether this is the reason why such staff "have not learned to speak sufficient Danish" cannot be determined in this study. However, an environment where Danish was not expected, and where it was not given

prestige in relation to temporary staff, might have led to a lack of motivation for temporary staff to actively use the language.

As opposed to the preservation approach, which sought to preserve the status of Danish in certain situations, the transition approach was not specifically mandated from the department leadership downwards. Rather, it was a bottom-up set of tendencies towards using English. In the longer term, this growing emphasis on English could lead to Danish being excluded from formal situations in the department. None of the staff I interviewed saw this as an option however. As Andreas stated "there's no way that we can make the foreigners fit in at the same level as the Danes without switching everything to English, and we are not interested in doing that." Based on interviews with temporary staff too, it could be argued that Danish in the department was not seen as a problem in that it was something that they felt could be safely ignored without any negative effect. But the tendency of the department to use this approach could be seen as domain loss in the sense of language shift (Hultgren, 2012, 2013a; Ravnholt, 2008), leading to the loss of Danish in different situations within the department.

7.1.3 Approach #3: Danish and English as Parallel

The final approach in the department was one where Danish and English were used together in work situations. This is called "the parallel approach". As the name implies, it can be related to the concept of parallel language use as commonly used in the Nordic region (e.g. Thøgersen, 2010; Hultgren, 2014a; Källkvist & Hult, 2016). A common definition of parallel language use is when two languages are seen as equal, and where either language can be used as appropriate in a given situation (Harder, 2008). It could be argued the previous two approaches share the ideal of using whichever language is appropriate in a given setting, the

preservation approach by having Danish in situations where participants are expected to have mastery of it, and the transition approach by giving participants English who are not able to follow Danish. Nevertheless, this section focuses on the idea of the two languages being used together, in other words, a parallel situation where both Danish and English play an active role in a given work situation.

This is at odds with how interviewees described the work environment. In their descriptions, interviewees tended to take a binary view of Danish and English at the department. That is to say, situations were seen as being discursively emplaced with a given language, making them "in Danish" or "in English". This would make the department more a place of complementary language use (Preisler, 2010) than parallel language use. The possible exception to this might be the more fluid linguistic setting of the lunch room. But even there, conversations might be in English or in Danish, and then switched to English, or in Danish and remaining in Danish. The closest to a dual language situation even there was where the main conversation would be in English with a smaller side conversation happening in Danish.

Situations of code-switching, or mixing Danish and English, were brought up, which might be seen as parallel in the sense being used here, but this was limited to two situations. In particular, Denmark-specific bureaucratic or cultural terminology would tend to be in Danish even in an otherwise English conversation, and certain domain specific terminology, particular higher-level terminology, would tend to be in English even in an otherwise Danish conversation. Apart from this borrowing of vocabulary, very few explicit instances were discussed where the two language might mix, and very few examples where the languages would both be used in the same situation.

However, there were two situations which could be used to exemplify the parallel approach. The first was meeting related. As already discussed, most meetings at the

department seemed to be either in Danish or in English. Permanent staff meetings, as discussed previously, were held in Danish. Meetings attended by mainly non-Danish staff tended to be held in English. Jørgen, a member of permanent staff, described a third option for meetings: "sometimes we have meetings where most people speak Danish. Those who don't speak Danish […] might understand it, so we have some in Danish anyways, but if those who don't speak Danish very well […] speak English if they have something to say". This adds in receptive language skills to decisions of what language to use in a meeting, in that staff members who could understand Danish but not yet speak it might express an opinion or make a comment in English, which was seen as acceptable. This would be a typical example of parallel language use.

The other example is related to departmental e-mails, which almost always contained two languages. That is to say, the information would be given in Danish, and then be followed by a version in English, which would either be a direct translation, or a summary of the information in the Danish version. This was a specific policy of the department administration. The head of administration explained that she liked to have e-mails in the two languages because of the Danish. Specifically, she said "it also makes sense for me [as] Danish is a very good language, […] or if people are learning Danish, then it's nice for them to have it in both languages". She also added that it was "not very much more work for me to do it in Danish as well", implying that the alternative would have been to send e-mails only in English. To a certain degree, this was also an example of the preservation approach, in which the e-mail was a training tool for those who did not know the language, but who might be motivated to learn it, rather than an approach chosen specifically so that both languages would be represented.

This approach was not as widely mentioned as were either the preservation or the transition approach. When it was referred to, it was sometimes done so negatively. For

example, for written communication, the presence of two languages was seen as a disadvantage by the teaching staff. The typical view was that it was inefficient to have something in two languages. For example, Kjeld, who in other areas was one of the most negative about the growing presence of English in the department, said of e-mails that "I wouldn't mind if it was only in English. I see it as a problem that we have to spend time using two languages". The same held for e-mails written by the interviewees. This was shown by Andreas when he stated, "if I judge that it's not important for the foreigners then I write it in Danish, and otherwise, I write it in English. I don't have the time to write it in both". This could be seen to be the main disadvantage of the parallel approach for writing, namely that it was seen as inefficient. But this inefficiency could be seen as an advantage. As stated by the head of administration, for example, having both languages would enable those learning Danish to use it. Moreover, those Danish staff members who might be more comfortable with Danish would also have the opportunity to use the Danish text.

With regard to speaking, very few people referred to this approach apart from Jørgen's description of a meeting which was in Danish, but where it was possible to make comments in English. Unlike the case for written communication, where the recipients of e-mails were assured of having information in at least one language that they could understand, a meeting where attendees used whichever language they chose, but where any given comment was only given in one language presupposes at least receptive knowledge of both Danish and English. In the example given by Jørgen, the person making a comment in English was only able to make a comment which was appropriate to the conversation at hand because that person could follow the discussion in Danish. As with the preservation approach, the parallel approach thus involves acquisition planning in the form of Danish training, which could be with a focus on listening skills as these have been seen as

particularly lacking in non-Danish university employees (Jürna, 2014, p. 239), possibly with in-meeting support for participants whose Danish is weaker.

7.1.4 Language Use and Language Attitudes

In each of the three departmental approaches towards language use, a common factor has been how English and Danish have been viewed. This section will close out the discussion of different approaches by considering language attitudes held by teaching staff within the department. In terms of InnT, language attitudes are placed explicitly by Henrichsen (1989, p. 80) under the category "characteristics of users". That is, attitudes are part of what users carry within themselves. In terms of NA, attitudes are found within the historical body. Attitudes, along with other embodied factors, influence how department staff orient to situations that they encounter in the department.

Attitudes are found within individuals. In addition, InnT's hybrid model would also place attitudes in the aggregate as an effect of the user system, insofar as the structure of both the department and of the larger community of the case field socialized those within it towards particular relationships with Danish or English. This was seen in the case department in the way that interviewed teaching staff oriented to these languages. In reference to the case department, these attitudes were able to influence how moves to change language of instruction towards or away from either language might be received. What norms of language were seen as being needed in the classrooms of the case department also played an important role.

Attitudes emerging from teaching staff interviews in relation to Danish and English were not markedly different for permanent or non-permanent interviewees. Danish was seen as being hard to learn. When asked about non-Danish colleagues who had learned enough

Danish to be able to teach in the language, both Danish and non-Danish interviewees knew of success stories. However, these individuals often turned out to be mother tongue speakers of closely related languages, especially Scandinavian languages or German. As Marco, a postdoc, explained, “It's really hard for a foreigner to learn Danish or at least enough Danish to be able to teach […] some people come from Germany, maybe they are closer language backgrounds, can learn in two or three years.” In other words, the perception was that unless your language was typologically similar to Danish, you could expect to use a lot of time to get enough Danish to be able to teach in the language. This perception, of the Danish learning advantage of Germanic speakers was also used in connection with a non-Germanic L1 speaker, with permanent staff member Kjeld referring to a French speaking member of permanent staff: “I know she speaks perfect French, but I'm sure she also speaks German, and because she speaks German, it has been quite easy for her to learn [Danish]”.

Along with whether it was possible to learn Danish came the question of whether it was possible to learn enough to teach in the language in the three years or so of a typical postdoc contract. Some questioned whether postdocs on such short-term appointments should use time to learn the language at all, or as Rasmus, a member of permanent staff, put it, “I would not recommend that you spend your time learning Danish if you only have two years”, adding “I mean because people have plenty of things to do”. So Danish was seen as difficult to learn, and possibly also not a good use of time.

These two attitudinal features that characterized how interviewed staff viewed Danish, that it was hard to learn, generally, and especially hard to learn in the limited time period of a typical postdoc position, had implications for the approaches to language use which have been described in this chapter. In particular, it would argue against approaches where postdocs were expected to use Danish. This can be seen in postdoc James’s overview of the language he used when speaking to colleagues: “I do have some some Danish

colleagues obviously but I don't really think my my Danish is strong enough to [speak Danish with them]. It would just be ridiculous when they can speak English so perfectly". This idea, that it was ridiculous to speak Danish, would lead to a greater use of the transition approach, where work situations in the department happen increasingly in English.

In contrast to difficult-to-learn Danish, English was seen as something that anyone doing teaching or research would already have. As seen in chapter 5, this was not always true, in particular for administrative staff. However, it was perceived to be true, and especially so for teaching staff. The experiences of department staff thus supported the reported literature on EMI. For example, Airey (2012, p. 71) found that, at least for teaching, language was not an issue for those he studied. That is, they could teach equally well in either English or the local language (in this case Swedish) despite possible issues with language competence when teaching in English as a non-L1. In the Danish context, Kling Soren (2013) findings were similar, namely that her informants felt able to teach effectively in both English and Danish.

Along with the assumption that everyone had "enough" English was the question of how much English was enough to work and to teach in the field. More than one interviewee used the term "broken English" to describe the level used. As for the particular level needed, Andreas made a representative claim (discussed in chapter 6) when he stated

> It is a general assumption in [our field] that everybody is able to communicate in English […] based on the fact that the amount of English we need to know in order to teach is maybe 600 words or so, I mean it's a very small part of the vocabulary that you really need in order to teach in English.

As before, this was a clear example of truncated competence (Blommaert, et al.,

2005), here perceived positively. No one made equivalent comments about the amount of words needed to teach in Danish. The discourse around Danish learning, as shown above, was that getting to a high enough level to teach in Danish was difficult, implying that the same type of truncated competence in Danish would be viewed as a liability.

Attitudes towards English, viewed as something that everyone could be expected to have, also had implications for approaches to language. Just as the view of Danish might lead to a greater use of the transition approach, so might the view of English also lead to a greater use of English rather than Danish in work situations. This could be seen in the reaction of permanent staff to written communication which took place in both languages. For example, Kjeld's stating that "I wouldn't mind if [e-mails were] only in English" revealed that the use of English by itself is not seen as a problem at least in certain situations. In spoken situations, Casper's questioning ("I don't understand why we don't just switch because everybody understands English") of whether a meeting should be held in Danish if there might be some not understanding it again confirms the view of language use as either/or, that is where something is either in English or in Danish, with Casper favoring English rather than Danish. Based on attitudes present in the department towards Danish, and towards English, either/or approaches would seem again to favor the transition approach to the detriment of both preserving some areas for Danish, or of using both Danish and English in a parallel way rather than an either/or where only one could be chosen.

Both approaches to language use at the departmental level and attitudes within the department towards Danish and English affected how department staff oriented to the case decisions. The following sections will thus turn attention to those decisions, organized using the InnT hybrid model categories. This will cover first the source category, looking at how the decisions were made at the faculty level and what they included. This will be followed by a discussion of how the decisions were received by the case department (the receiver

category), and finally by the category of factors which might lead to longer-term adoption, adaption, or rejection of the case decisions.

7.2 Source: The Faculty and the Decisions

Up until now, the focus has been on the case department. Here, our attention turns to the Faculty of Science at DU as policy-maker. In terms of InnT, the faculty would be categorized as the source (innovator), that is to say, the one responsible for the introduction of the innovations or case decisions. The process section of the hybrid model also refers to the message, which here are the case decisions themselves and what specifically they mandated. A third element, plans and strategies, relates the case decisions to other decision-making at the faculty, and here compares and contrasts them with similar decision-making strategies at the department and university level. The final element of the process section deals with characteristics of communication. The focus here is on how the decisions were communicated to intended users, in this case, those in the case department. Each of the four sections has implications for the eventual adoption or rejection of the decisions, and are covered here.

The first element to be examined here is the source, or innovator. For the innovations under focus, the source is the entity that made the decisions related to language of instruction, that is, the Faculty of Science at DU. As this study was carried out with primary focus on the department level, my first impression of the faculty was derived from interviews with teaching staff and department management. In the perception of the department, the faculty was characterized as rigid, with a penchant for making overly strict rules. This is exemplified by Andreas, who stated “the faculty like formality and like rules, and we have to follow these rules and so on. In the department we like informality all the way through, we don't like

formalities at all". In Andreas's opinion, the faculty and department were set in opposition to each other in relation to their hierarchy and decision-making structure.

On an official policy level, it was not possible to speak of the faculty or the department as being more or less keen on formalities. At both levels, for example, documents existed setting out strategy in a formal way, and both department and faculty staff were subject to regulations set either at their own level or at higher levels in the organization (for instance, the department were subject to faculty and university regulations; the faculty to university ones). However, looking at the decision-making process gave some insight into how the faculty made decisions. The decision-making process, including that of the case decisions, were described by the member of the Faculty of Science leadership (FoS) whom I interviewed:

> FoS: The decision is made at the faculty level, […] but there's a very thorough process behind it and which uses the organization that we have, so we have a leadership team […] which is the deanery and the department heads at each of the departments, and in the end, in sufficiently serious matters, it's the leadership team that decides the policy or whatever, the strategy or whatever, and this is an area where it's the leadership team that's behind this, so there's been this process of making the overall rules[…], I mean we discussed it in you know, four times with the study boards and study leaders, and the department heads and so on, and in the end, we have this whole, you know….
>
> Kim: Yeah, a very thought-out decision.
>
> FoS: As decided by the leadership team, and which includes the department heads, who were the ones who are going to implement it.

As would be expected from a large organization like a university faculty, this shows the faculty clearly had a top-down way of policy-making. It also shows an interaction order which was situated in higher levels of the organization, with "the deanery and the department heads". While the faculty made the decision, it was up to the individual departments to implement them: later in the interview, the faculty interviewee stated that "the department must deliver teaching at sufficiently high level, and in the right language, and that's actually their problem to handle that situation, and they do that very well".

The second element of the process section is the message (or innovation), which relates to decisions themselves. This information presented here has been determined from the documents collected as part of this study, a complete list of which is found in section 4.3.3. According to a faculty document setting out conditions for teaching at the undergraduate level and master's level issued in September, 2013, when the decisions were to go into effect (document #05), undergraduate courses in the faculty were officially offered in Danish, and master's level courses in English. For master's level courses, the document (document #05) specified that all elements of the course, including teaching materials, were to be in English. For the undergraduate courses, Danish materials were allowed, but also materials in English or in Swedish or Norwegian. Document #05, in addition, set out regulations regarding language to be used for exams. Specifically, these rules were mandated to match the language of instruction in all instances. So Danish-medium courses were to have exams and assignments in Danish, and EMI courses to have them in English.

The 2013 regulations can best be understood in connection with the policy in place before the decisions were in effect. The rules at this time can be seen in a 2011 document setting out regulations for teaching at the undergraduate and master's level which were in effect at that time (document #04). The 2011 document had fewer regulations related to language in teaching or evaluating of students. In particular, while it set out what the

language of instruction should be at both undergraduate and master's levels, department-level study boards were at that point allowed to change this language where necessary, also in relation to the language of exams. Requirements for teaching materials were not given. In this way, the primary change between the 2011 and 2013 documents were in strictness; the 2011 document was more general, while the 2013 document specified ways in the which the general rules from 2011 should be kept to more rigorously.

I was not able to gain access, either through my own direct efforts, or through contacts at the department or faculty level, to any 2012 document which might have specified the case decisions as they were originally formulated. Preliminary interviews with department leadership in combination with two university newspaper articles from Spring 2013 (documents #011 & #012) indicated that one element of the 2013 document (document #05) represented a change from the original decisions, namely, whether any courses could be offered in English at the undergraduate level. According to both the interviews and the news articles, there were to be very few (or possibly no) exemptions given allowing undergraduate courses to be given in English. In the 2013 document however, up to 30 ECTS points of English teaching was allowed during the course of the bachelors. A departmental study board document from spring 2013 (document #06) showed evidence that the permitting of 30 ECTS points of English-medium instruction was under consideration from the department, and that the board was in agreement with this as a compromise decision. This shows that the original decisions were not so set in stone that no part of them could be negotiated. Instead a possible compromise was negotiated by one or more departments which modified the decisions.

A question which falls into the category of message is why the innovation, or in this case the case decisions, had been taken. In the words of the interviewed member of the Faculty of Science leadership, "The idea at the bachelor level is what constitutes the subject, you know, […] the content that is actually necessary in order for you to act in Danish society

at a certain academic level." In other words, mandating undergraduate education in Danish would ensure that graduates would be able to fill positions in Danish businesses or teaching in the Danish secondary school system, that is, where jobs would be primarily in Danish. In contrast, he said that having the *kandidat* courses in English would give students the English experience and domain knowledge to be able to function internationally in the field: "And it's the reverse at the master level, because we know that many of our students, they will be employed in businesses that, you know, they act in a global market, so they need an English language." The faculty interviewee framed these decisions as having been made with relation to preparing students for a future with both Danish society and in a globalizing world; this framing did not exactly match the perception by the receiver of the innovation, a point which will be addressed in the section discussing the category of receiver. It did however go along with a split discussed, for example, by Preisler (2005), who referred to the use of English on an international level alongside Danish use on a local level in Denmark.

In order to fully understand the impact of the message given of the case decisions, it is important to view the other two parts of the source category, namely the plans and strategies, and the characteristics of communication. Plans and strategies relate to how the decisions fit into the larger framework of language policy and planning, in this case for the Faculty of Science and for DU as a whole. This has been done by looking at the relevant strategy documents for both DU (Document #01) and the faculty (Document #02). In a DU document, language is not addressed directly, apart from a mention of the need to "strengthen student and employee language competency, also in foreign languages other than English". However, this is listed under a more general goal of strengthening cooperation with the outside world both internationally and nationally, which is in keeping with the reasoning given by the faculty member for the case decisions (and in keeping with the reasoning set out by Preisler, 2005). The equivalent strategy plan for the Faculty of Science lists similar goals to that of DU

as a whole.

Characteristics of communication refers to how the decisions were disseminated to the department. As described above, decisions were made by the faculty leadership team in conjunction with the heads of departments at the faculty. They took place over a period of time, where all aspects of the decisions were debated. At that point, the decisions were taken and then communicated with the department through department leadership. At this point, negotiation took place between the departments and the faculty. From the department documents cited above, it appeared that a small number of EMI courses had been negotiated for the undergraduate level which seemed to alleviate issues for some of the problems foreseen by department leadership.

Along with the faculty that here served as the source of the case decisions, the department acted as a receiver of the decisions. The next sections focus on the department as receiver, first comparing perceived policy at the faculty and department level, and then using the hybrid model category of receiver to investigate the way in which the department showed awareness of, interest in, and evaluation of the case decisions as taken by the faculty.

7.3 The Department as Receiver of the Decisions

The faculty was the source of the innovations or case decisions, which were received by the different departments which it housed. In this section, the case department is investigated in relation to its role as one of the receivers of the case decision. This investigation begins with a discussion of two areas where differences in approach to language were evident between faculty and department, in perceived level of flexibility, and in the role of Danish and English in policies at both levels. After this, focus will shift to looking at the department as receiver using the InnT receiver categories of awareness, interest, and

evaluation.

One common theme which emerged in how the department viewed its own policy making was flexibility: the department saw itself as being flexible in how they made decisions, allowing freedom to alter things (including language of instruction) when it was deemed appropriate. That there were set approaches that could be described belies this self-image. Even in those situations seen as happening flexibly, there were certain patterns that could be discerned. This can be seen in those instances where interviewed staff spoke of colleagues breaking the rules, for example postdoc Fernanda's comment that she no longer had a problem with lunch room conversations staying in Danish when there were non-Danish speakers present, but that "I know it's very bad because there are people who don't understand a word". However, to the extent that department staff themselves decided what language to use, the approaches could be seen as bottom-up; that is, language use was decided through department practice rather than as a mandate from above. The one exception to this was the decision that communication directed at permanent staff should take place in Danish, which appeared to be a decision made by the head of department. This largely bottom-up way of determining language use would be at odds with a faculty decision made in an explicitly top-down way.

Another contrast between the department and the faculty lay in the role that Danish and English played in the policies at each level. English was seen as playing a greater or lesser role in all policy approaches at both the department and faculty levels. It would be used in selected situations in the preservation approach and in the faculty approach, in increasing situations in the transition approach, and in conjunction with Danish in the parallel approach. The role of Danish however was viewed distinctly differently at the two organizational levels. With the case decisions, Danish was to be maintained as a language of the case field, through being a medium of instruction at the undergraduate level. In contrast, in the three

departmental approaches, Danish was not explicitly maintained in this way. In the preservation approach, there was the possibility of keeping Danish for permanent staff, but in terms of temporary staff, the goal of Danish training was as much non-academic as it was academic, in that its aim was integrate staff more fully into Danish society generally, and not necessarily to be teaching or collaborating with colleagues using the language. In the transition approach, a gradual shift to English was possible. In the parallel approach, maintenance of Danish would seem more possible; however, this approach was only used in limited situations, such as departmental e-mails, and was not well received by staff, as exemplified by Kjeld's comment that "I wouldn't mind if [e-mails were] only in English. I see it as a problem that we have to spend time using two languages". The role of Danish then might be an orienting feature in the way that the case decisions were received by the case department.

These two characterizing features of departmental language policy influenced how department staff oriented to the case decisions. In order to explore this, the receiver category of the hybrid model will be used. In particular, this includes how aware receivers in the case department were of the innovations, how interested they were in the decisions, and finally their evaluation of the decisions.

In terms of awareness, from the first interview round, everyone I spoke with had heard of the innovations, often bringing the subject up themselves when asked about what languages they used for teaching (at which point, they might indicate that the languages of instruction would be changing). Interviewed teaching staff were not always aware of the details of the decisions. For example, there was disagreement as to whether the innovations had already gone into effect at the time of the first interview (they had not), or if they were to go into effect in the following term (which was in fact the case). However, they all knew that some changes were in the process of taking effect.

One part of the awareness category was awareness of the reasons behind the faculty decisions. As touched on in the previous section, the faculty decisions were justified in the faculty interview based on the needs of students to both work in Denmark-specific settings which would take place primarily in Danish (thus the undergraduate emphasis on Danish language instruction), and at the same time to participate in global communities using English as a lingua franca (thus the graduate emphasis on English language instruction). However, when asked why they thought the decisions had been made, no interviewee mentioned this. Some interviewees said they were not sure of the reasons for the decisions; an example of this was Jørgen (in the first interview), a member of permanent staff, who said "I'm not actually completely sure I understand the reasons why they have made this change in policy, the logic is a little unclear to me". Of those interviewees who gave possible reasons for the decisions, more than one made reference to a possibly new requirement to list the language of instruction on exam certificates, more in keeping with the university newspaper account of the decision process. For example, in the second round interview Jørgen said, "it's some rather silly bureaucratic rule about that on the exam, it has to say, whether the exam was in Danish or in English". That is to say, receiving staff perceived the decisions as being based on a bureaucratic requirement to make the language of instruction official to match the official listing of the language on course certificates. Permanent staff member Casper made a similar statement:

> Casper: Suppose somebody gets a diploma, and it says oh, they've taken all these nice English language courses, but whenever they passed an exam, they spoke or wrote Danish so they're not able to work [in the field] in an English-speaking context, I mean I don't think that's a real problem, but I think some people…
> KC: But it could be perceived as a problem.

Casper: Yes, and I think especially the people who make those rules are closer to the administration and they have to cover their bases.

So the decisions had been communicated to department staff at least in the case department, and yet the reasoning behind the decisions as given in the faculty interview did not match that of department staff. The perception of the faculty as rigid and rule-loving might have led the department to view the case decisions as more bureaucratic, in keeping with a faculty seen as more bureaucratic. Alternately, the faculty spokesperson might have given a more general reason for decisions that were made for more bureaucratic reasons originally.

In the hybrid model, as shown by a one-way arrow, awareness of an innovation leads to interest in it, at least if the innovation is seen as having an effect on the receiver. In other words, interest in the hybrid model is a measure of relevance of the innovations to the receiver. In the case department, the potential effects of the innovations on teaching practice in the department were clearly understood by interviewees, who therefore showed interest in how the innovations might affect teaching in the department. When interviewees were asked what they thought of the decisions, there was not a single interviewee who did not have an opinion, that is to say, each interviewee offered some type of evaluation of the decisions, which are interpreted here as their expectations of the decisions. In the hybrid model, a single arrow points from factors that facilitate/hinder change and the receiver. I would add an arrow going the other way. Teaching staff evaluated (set their expectations of) the innovations because of factors which they perceived as relevant to how the innovations would affect their own working practices, and the working practices of the department as a whole.

In general, neither the innovations related to undergraduate instruction nor the ones related to graduate instruction were evaluated as totally negative or totally positive. That

being said, the decision to strengthen Danish as the undergraduate language of instruction was expected to be more problematic for the department, particularly in terms of resources, though more positive for Danish speaking undergraduate students. The graduate decisions were the reverse, expected to be positive for the department, but potentially negative for Danish speaking students. These expectations will be placed in the categories of factors that facilitate/hinder change, and will be explored in more detail in the following section.

7.4 Factors which Influence Change

The third section of the hybrid model, after source and receiver, is factors that hinder/facilitate change. This includes four categories: within the innovation, within the resource system, within the user system, and intra-elemental factors (Henrichsen, 1989, p. 83). These factors are portrayed in the hybrid model as separate from either source or receiver; that is, an innovation is seen as having particular qualities separate from how they are viewed by stakeholders. In contrast to this view, factors are here seen as integrally intertwined with the receiver. In other words, those factors that were viewed as important to the receiver would affect how the decisions were received overall. More specifically, factors were tied in to the evaluation of the case decisions by the receivers, with factors emerging as salient from the evaluative comments made by interviewed departmental staff. As a result, in discussing this section of the model, only those factors that emerged from interviews as relevant to teaching staff as receivers of the decisions are focused on.

Those factors fell primarily into three of the four categories: within the resource system, within the user system, and intra-elemental factors. The first category, within the resource system, referred to factors arising from the source of the decisions, in this case, the faculty of science at DU. The main factor in this category was the top-down nature of the

decisions themselves. One thing which was clear throughout the interview process was the framing by interviewed teaching staff of the case decisions as already having been made; it was a done deal, and attention was placed on what the impact of the decisions would be rather than on the decisions themselves. The receiving staff understood that the decisions had been made for bureaucratic reasons (so the exam results and the teaching would "match"). This went along with a perception of a faculty that, in Andreas's words "like formality and like rules" in contrast to the department's view of itself as flexible and pragmatic.

The category where interviewee expectations tended to fall most was within the user system. This category covers a broad range of facets, which in practice seemed to include not only factors of the system, such as available resources at the department, but also factors of the users of the system, including both employees and students. Within the user system-based comments were found particularly in terms of the undergraduate decisions, where overall opinions were more negative. In particular, questions raised tied into whether the system had the capacity to offer enough courses in Danish. Specific issues were raised in connection to the two groups who were not seen to be able to participate in a Danish language teaching environment, that is, non-Danish speaking instructors (particularly those in temporary positions such as postdocs) and non-Danish speaking exchange students. For non-Danish speaking staff, an increase in Danish as a language of instruction was seen to exacerbate the problems with regards to giving postdocs in particular instruction at lower levels. For non-Danish speaking exchange students, having undergraduate courses in Danish was seen as limiting the number of such students at the undergraduate level. This, in turn, would limit the number of Danish students who could go from DU on study abroad programs. As permanent staff member Kjeld described it, "Foreign students are coming here expecting to be able to follow the course, and they cannot. So they will go home frustrated, and eventually Berkeley will say 'well, we don't want to accept Danish students any longer'".

There were positive expectations in relation to Danish students which also fell into the category of within the user system. Undergraduate study in the case field was seen as difficult in itself, in any language. With this framing, having instruction in a foreign language was then an added complication, making already difficult concepts even more so. With this in mind, Jørgen, a member of permanent staff, said he thought "that the second year undergraduate courses, it's probably best to teach them in Danish so that they can focus more on the [domain] stuff than the language". On the other hand, to the extent that English was seen as the language of the case field more generally, some voices advocated for exposing students to English earlier rather than later as suggested, for example, by Dieter who commented that taking coursework in English as an L2 "might actually make it easier for [the students] to [learn the case subject]".

In relation to graduate education, the innovations were not seen in as negative a light also because of within the user system factors. It was assumed that all teaching staff had enough English to teach, and in addition, it was assumed that exchange students would come to Denmark because they wanted the opportunity to take classes in the case department in English. The one area where interviewees expressed negative attitudes was in relation to how students were evaluated, specifically whether needing to use English in course assignments, and in particular in oral exams, would disadvantage Danish students who had previously had the option to be evaluated in Danish, also for courses taught in English. In response to this, certain Danish interviewees raised the option of simply ignoring the rule. As Andreas said, "If I have a student in front of me who begs me to take this exam in Danish, I'm going to do it in Danish, even though there's a rule saying that I have to do it in English".

The final category into which interviewee comments fell was intra-elemental factors. This category was for factors which were a blend of other categories. In particular, the department viewed itself as flexible, which is to say they saw their user system as marked by

flexibility. In contrast, they viewed the faculty as rigid, as opposed to flexible. This dichotomous view is shown by Maarten, a postdoc, here in the first-round interview discussing the language of instruction before the decisions, and the effects the decisions would have:

> Before it was far more flexible […]. And I don't think there was ever a problem, at least in this department, there was never a problem with that. So now there is a rule fixing something that was not a problem. I mean that's always a bad thing.

This excerpt from Maarten neatly illustrates the departmental view of how the department and the faculty made decisions. The department was clearly situated within a discourse of flexibility, being "far more flexible" on its own. The faculty in contrast was seen to be making "a rule fixing something that was not a problem". Put in another way, the department worked in a bottom-up way. The faculty was a top-down rule setter. This may have been the biggest factor affecting how department staff viewed the case decisions.

7.5 Conclusions

This chapter has focused on language policy and planning within the faculty and the department, as well as on the process section of the InnT hybrid model. One outcome of this has been gaining an answer to the third research question: How are decisions related to language of instruction made at the faculty level, and at the department level, and how do the two levels influence each other?

On the level of the faculty, language policy decisions such as the case decisions seemed to have been determined by perceived needs of students to work with Danish locally

and English more globally. At the same time, it seems also determined by the need for consistent bureaucracy. This led to a top-down style of policy making which was perceived by the department as inflexible. In contrast, the department seemed to operate under a more bottom-up system where language use emerged from local practice, albeit under specific constraints for specific situations. In particular, the type of implicit language planning favored by the department was seen to lead to conflict with the more top-down approach taken by the faculty of science in relation to the case decisions.

The other major finding of relevance is the different emphasis on the role of Danish in faculty and departmental language policy approaches, with the faculty decisions carving out a more specific place for Danish, by mandating it as the undergraduate language of instruction, than was found in department approaches. This led to a difference also in how the department viewed the undergraduate decision in particular as more of a problem than the graduate one. This was because of a lack of resources, but also because of a lack of effort towards ensuring Danish as a language of teaching for temporary teaching staff. At the same time, the graduate decision was seen as being less of a problem for staff, but possibly more so for Danish students in terms of examinations and assignments. How these evaluations led to the adoption or rejection of the case decisions (in whole or in individual parts) will be discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 8:
Consequences and Larger Trends in the Case Field

This chapter moves forward with an examination of the hybrid model, looking at the third part, "consequences". In contrast to the antecedents and process sections, which relied primarily on interviews done before the implementation of the decisions, the consequences section turns primarily to the second round of teaching staff interviews to find how the innovation was being received towards the end of the first academic year after implementation. The chapter is divided into two main sections: one focuses on outcomes of the case decisions in the case department in the year after implementation, and a second one maps out trends in the case field (and in scientific areas more generally) which may impact future decision making related to language of instruction.

The first half of the chapter discusses the specific features of the consequences section of the hybrid model. As described in Henrichsen (1989, p. 95), this phase of the model is where the long-term outcome of an innovation such as the case decisions is seen. Henrichsen divides this into two parts. The first one describes the types of consequences which may occur, for example, immediate or delayed. The other part describes the outcomes of the decisions, for example, adoption or rejection. In order to fully explore the consequence phase of the case decisions, the focus is put on what department and faculty interviewees had to say about the decisions and their effects. As already shown, teaching staff had reservations about the possible effects of the decisions, for example regarding teacher assignment, or disadvantaging Danish students in assignments and exams. This chapter follows up on staff misgivings, to see what the effects of the decisions were once implemented.

This information leads to answers to the remaining research question: How did teaching staff expectations in relation to the case decisions affect how the decisions were

implemented in the department? In addition, the data answered the second half of the first two research questions: How did department teaching staff use English and Danish in work situations outside of the classroom, and how did teaching staff and students use English and Danish in classroom situations, after the implementation of the case decisions?

The second part of the chapter moves away from the individual employee as member or participant in the department, and turns to the individual employee as a researcher involved in a trans-institutional and increasingly globalized scientific community. Instead of focusing on the specific case decisions, this section emphasizes trends towards greater internationalization which may affect potential future decisions related to language of instruction within the department. In order to uncover these trends, interview data (from both first and second round interviews) is used to show how teaching staff saw themselves as part of larger research communities. These expectations showed that member status in the larger research community was in some cases different from expectations for member status in the case department. In particular, these expectations were of mobility and external funding. Expectations also existed related to language, in this case the use of English as a lingua franca within the academic community. Exploring how the larger community is constructed gives a greater understanding of how English and Danish have come to be in tension in the case department, and how this might impact how decisions related to language of instruction are received in the future.

8.1 Consequences

Consequences refer to that stage of the innovation process happening after implementation (Henrichsen, 1989). In particular, it encompasses the changes that occur as a result of the innovations, and more generally if the innovations are ultimately adopted or

rejected, or if an intermediary position is chosen (for example, partial adoption of an innovation, or adoption of an adapted version of the innovation). This phase, while it starts up immediately after implementation, can last indefinitely, with changes and outcomes happening at different points over the short- and long-term.

At the time of the first interview round with teaching staff, the consequences phase had not yet started. At the time of the second round interviews, the decisions had been in effect for the better part of an academic year, and teaching staff were again asked to talk about their language use on the job with an aim to see if the innovations had had specific effects on their working life. Within the scope of this questioning, it was possible to see what changes were being noticed by teaching staff, as well as what areas were not being affected by the innovations.

8.1.1 Measures of Change

The first part of the consequences third of the hybrid model focuses on the specific impact of user innovations. In other words, it includes changes that happened as a result of the innovations. For the case department, as uncovered in second-round interviews with teaching staff, these changes were not extensive. As seen in the hybrid model, changes which arise from an innovation can be immediate or delayed, direct or indirect, manifest or latent, functional or dysfunctional. Because the analysis of this part took place so soon after implementation, it was not possible to understand change as it happened in relation to the innovations in focus in all of these areas. However, it is possible to describe immediate direct changes resulting from the innovations.

Interviewed postdocs reported few changes in their working and teaching lives, as seen with Maarten, a postdoc:

Kim: You said last time I talked to you that you use pretty much English for everything, is that still the case?

Maarten: That's still the case, yes.

Kim: O.K., so there's no situations where you've switched over to Danish or….

Maarten: No, no, my Danish is really bad still.

This excerpt shows that for Maarten, the case decisions had not impacted his work life, which still took place still primarily in English. In particular, without being able to communicate in Danish, the interaction order between Maarten and his colleagues in the department remained in English. The discourses present in work situations, which dictated that English be used when non-Danish speakers were present, also meant that Maarten, whose Danish is "really bad still", would encounter English in meetings and other work situations.

This is not surprising, as without the ability to work in Danish, it would not be possible to have any work responsibilities shifted to Danish. More surprising perhaps is the example of Dieter, a short-term visiting professor, who over the course of his position in the department had become able to communicate in Danish. At the time of the second interview, Dieter said "my Danish has improved, but not because of what I do here at the university". That is to say, he was using Danish outside of the workplace, but as shown here, he too was using primarily English on the job.

Kim: [Last time we spoke], you were using mainly English

Dieter: Yeah, that's still true

Kim: O.K., are you, I mean, are you using anything other than English, or is it sort of English for everything

> Dieter: Yeah, it's English for everything. I think it's just a function of the, well, cause of all the department's language policy, and also that I don't teach the relevant courses and so then everything's in English

Just as for Maarten, Dieter had not changed his working practice. He still used English "for everything". This indicates that the interaction order between Dieter and his colleagues had not changed in relation to language, and that discourses present in meetings and other work situations also remained the same. These excerpts from Maarten and Dieter showed that the typical temporary employee worked solely in English before the decisions and continued to do so after. This was true regardless of overall Danish proficiency, and shows again the split between being a member or a participant in the case department. As a participant, only English was seen as needed.

One exception to this is the example of Fernanda. As elaborated in chapter 5, Fernanda at the time of the second interview had been assigned courses for the following term which she was to teach in Danish. This showed the possibility of temporary employees who do not speak Danish learning enough to be able to teach in the language. However, it also must be noted that Fernanda had over the course of two postdoc positions at two Danish institutions had more time to learn Danish than someone on a single three-year postdoc would have had. It also did not disconfirm a split between members and participants; Fernanda appeared to be shifting category, moving into a member position in the department, for which she would be in situations where she could use the Danish that she had learned. In particular, Fernanda had made explicit effort to change the interaction order present between herself and her colleagues, for example when requesting that a department administrator not switch to English when speaking with her, saying "Please keep it in Danish because otherwise how do I learn".

For work situations outside of teaching, permanent staff reported the same type of language use after the decisions as before. As with the postdocs, interaction order and discourses in place had not changed for permanent staff either. In terms of teaching, for permanent staff who could have had teaching shifted from English to Danish, some of those interviewed indicated that they were teaching courses in Danish that would previously have been in English. This was the case for Rasmus, a member of permanent staff who expressed surprise at how much easier it was for him to teach in Danish, including effects that he had not anticipated, for example that it would enable him to speak louder: "I mean I am in this big auditorium, and I don't use a microphone, and I guess this is only possible because I speak Danish." One class observation was of a class which had previously been in English, but which had been switched to Danish because of the decisions. This too was not a problem for the teacher, apart from apologizing that he had overlooked some English terms when translating his presentation slides into Danish, meaning there were some English words on the Danish slides (which I as an observer had not noticed). These examples would indicate that the innovations, at least from the standpoint of permanent staff, would be likely to be positive.

From these examples, an answer emerged for the second half of the first two research questions: How did department teaching staff use English and Danish in work situations, and how did teaching staff and students use English and Danish in classroom situations, after the implementation of the case decisions? In the first year after implantation of the case decisions, it appeared that teaching staff used English and Danish in work situations after the case decisions in a similar way to how they used them before the decisions. Postdocs, in particular, used English for practically all situations, as they had done before the decisions. This meant that the split between member and participant in the department remained after implementation of the case decisions, that is, interaction order and discourses present in the

department were also largely the same.

For teaching situations, postdocs, with the exception of Fernanda, continued to teach exclusively in English. Danish members of permanent staff in some cases were teaching more in Danish. This might have confirmed a shift in course assignment to take account of the fact that Danish-speaking staff were needed to cover an increased amount of Danish-medium courses being given at the undergraduate level, which would show how traditional hierarchies of teaching were being subverted by the case decisions.

8.1.2 Outcome of the Decisions

In the long term though, more important than individual changes brought about by the innovations was whether the innovations themselves were adopted or rejected, or some intermediate step between those two outcomes. With data taken from only the first year after implementation, it is not yet possible to know the ultimate outcome of the case decisions. In particular, some teaching staff expectations, for example that there would be fewer exchange students both coming in to and going out of the department at the undergraduate level is not something which could be measured after such a short time span.

The main area where it was possible to assess outcomes was hinted at by interviewees in the first round of interviewing, namely the possibility for non-compliance, in particular with the part of the decisions mandating that the language of the course and of course assignments and exams be the same. In particular in relation to Danish students sitting exams in English, the question of whether Danish would be accepted, even if technically not permitted, was a theme which emerged from first-round interviews. As part of the second round interviews, staff who had been teaching in the year post-implementation were asked

what languages they had been teaching in and what languages they were evaluating students in, that is what language students were using for assignments and exams.

For temporary staff, as noted before, there was no change. They previously were only able to evaluate student work in English and this continued to be the case. For Danish-speaking staff who were able to evaluate students in either Danish or English, their actual evaluating situations were more varied.

For staff able to teach in either language, the situation became more complex, and it was not always clear to all staff members what they were or were not permitted to do under the new rules. This can be seen in permanent staff member Anders's description of a course (given in Danish) that he had just started teaching at the time of the second interview. He was responding to my question about whether there were any students in his Danish courses who might prefer to be examined in another language.

> Anders: Right now there is this course, [with a] student who can follow the lectures and do the exercises in Danish, but he's an English speaker, he speaks English.
> Kim: O.K., so he's not a native speaker of Danish.
> Anders: No, and his Danish is all right, but not perfect of course, so he might feel more comfortable taking the exam in English, I think.
> Kim: O.K., how would you feel about that, and what would you do if that happened.
> Anders: Good question, I haven't thought about it, I think I will handle it when it shows up, but in principle I think we are somehow forced to keep the examination in Danish.

This excerpt shows that Anders had an idea of what is mandated by the decisions, saying "I think we are somehow forced to keep the examination in Danish". He also indicated

that if required, he would "handle [students requesting to take an exam in English for a Danish course] when it shows up". That is, he would decide on an individual basis, rather than have a strategy beforehand, although he did not yet know whether he would opt to follow the rules or to do something else when that time came.

Mads, also a member of permanent staff, described a similar situation in an undergraduate course taught in Danish, but one that had happened already as opposed to one that might happen in the future:

> I think there were some students that wanted to hand in the assignments in English, I mean they could, I assume they could understand some Danish, since they were following the course, but they were asking, well they were just handing assignments in English. We had to /laughs/, we had to change it because it was not, I mean they should write in Danish.

As with Anders, Mads indicated uncertainty about how strictly he should follow the rules in the case of students who requested to do an exam or an assignment in a different language than was allowed. Mads ultimately asked a member of department leadership for guidance:

> I asked our, what is it called, the chairman of our studies […] I mean what to do about this English-Danish thing, well [he suggested] to go by the rules and say well, you have to do it in Danish, otherwise, we could get into trouble, so we decided to do that.

In this case, Mads decided to use the rules as a reason to be strict with what language would be accepted from the students. He did not come to this decision by going back to the

written policy. Instead he made a decision based on the hierarchy of the department, that is what his chairman of studies deemed most appropriate. In this way, the interaction order between teaching staff and department management was a deciding factor in how to enforce language policy set by the faculty.

Not all permanent teaching staff chose to comply with the case decisions in all areas. For some permanent staff, there was non-compliance for oral exams, but interestingly, not in the direction that was predicted earlier, where Danish students were expected to want to do oral exams in Danish in otherwise EMI courses. In relation to Danish students taking a class in English and then doing an oral exam in Danish, none of the interviewed staff had taught a class in English during the previous year where an oral exam was given. However, there was at least one case where a non-Danish student who spoke Danish as a second language took a course which was given in Danish and then had an oral exam in English. This was described by Kjeld, a member of permanent staff:

> I was actually present as the external examiner at [a particular course], and that is a course for the bachelor degree, so officially the exams should be in Danish. […] But I mean we had a [foreign] student, and we just said well of course we let him speak English, and we don't tell anybody.

This example clearly shows that the discourse of flexibility still applied after the implementation of the case decisions mandating that the language of exams match the language of course instruction. The interaction order in the exam room, that is between the teacher of the course and the external examiner, also led to a decision to allow a non-Danish student to sit the exam in English. This decision was contrary to the official rules in place, but in keeping with language use in the department.

There was also a case where a non-Danish speaking exchange student ended up by accident in an undergraduate course being offered in Danish; Andreas, the permanent staff member who was the instructor opted to switch the language to English despite the decisions disallowing this as a possibility:

> Yes, I mean we have these rules, and we are scientific people, so we don't care so much about the rules, so we break them all the time. And I just taught my last course […]. It was taught in English because there was a [foreign] student showing up and he apparently had read something […] and found also the old stuff, and there my course was taught in English. So he showed up and then I talked to the other students, and they said 'well, it's o.k., you can teach English'. So I taught in English, don't tell the Dean /laughs/.

This example shows again that, when faced with a situation covered by the case decisions, it was not these decisions determining the language chosen. Rather it was the interaction order, in this case between the teacher of the course and the students enrolled there. Again also, the discourse of flexibility, which indicated that language of instruction could change from Danish to English due to the presence of non-Danish speaking students, still applied after the implementation of the case decisions.

The decisions taken by the faculty presupposed a traditional homogenous classroom at the undergraduate level, similar to the description of the traditional classroom given in the model by Kling Soren (2013, p. 5). In this model, the traditional classroom, teacher and students all shared a common L1 (as opposed to the EMI classroom where this is not expected to be the case). In deciding to match the language of evaluation with the language of instruction, the faculty assumed that students taking a course in Danish at the undergraduate

level would also have the Danish language skills to be evaluated in Danish. However, the situations described above by Anders, Mads, Kjeld, and Andreas show how the actual undergraduate classroom was more complex than the traditional Danish classroom shown in the model. In the case department, the non-native speaker of Danish and even the non-speaker of Danish might form a part of the traditional content course given (in theory or in reality) in Danish. While the faculty decisions were mandated based on incorrect assumptions of classroom composition at the undergraduate level, teachers in such classrooms opted to change the language of exams to reflect the actual language proficiency of students.

Another aspect of non-compliance which emerged from second-round interviews was reported non-observance of language choice as a factor in exam language. In particular, more than one Danish member of permanent staff claimed to not notice what language students were using in their written assignments. In the second interview, Christoffer stated just this in relation to an EMI course he had taught (after the implementation of the case decisions):

> Kim: Were there oral exams for this course?
>
> Christoffer: No, there was a written exam.
>
> Kim: Written exam, o.k., but there was no one who wrote it in Danish, for example, or….
>
> Christoffer: I don't remember, I actually don't remember, again I wouldn't have paid attention, I think.
>
> Kim: O.K., but you would have accepted either.
>
> Christoffer: I would not have noticed.

A similar stance was taken by Andreas, who said of student assignments "I grade it in whatever language I get it in, as long as I can understand". Whether some teaching staff in

the case department were really unobservant of the language used for exams and assignments cannot be determined; however the possibility that language was being ignored shows again when the rules stating what language an assignment should be in are at odds with the language proficiency of the students in that language, that at least some teaching staff decided what languages were acceptable based on the individual student or on the interaction order present in a situation, rather than on the official policy.

From the examples given so far, at least a partial answer can be given for the fourth research question, how did teaching staff expectations in relation to the case decisions affect how the decisions were implemented in the department? For some expectations, one year post-implementation was too early to say whether staff concerns had been met. However, the question of how students were evaluated showed that expectations of unfairness had not come to be. This was because teaching staff had chosen in some cases to challenge the decisions by operating on a case-by-case basis rather than following the faculty policy strictly. That is, the department continued to act through a discourse of flexibility, using already present interaction orders, in combination with the hierarchies of the department, rather than adhering to the faculty's more top-down way of setting policy.

8.2 Expectations of Internationalization

The first part of this chapter has focused on the consequences of the case decisions. This part of the chapter changes the focus from the case decisions to trends which might influence future language use and language of instruction in the department. The following sections will set out in part how the department came to have an international composition, and to build a picture of expectations for the larger community of researchers within the academic area of the case department.

The data analyzed here relate to the career trajectories and career expectations of interviewees, that is to say, information related to the coding category of *recruitment*. In the examination of this category, three trends emerged as especially salient. The first concerned the growing mobility of researchers in the case field (and in the natural sciences and in academia more generally). A second trend in the department, which also reflected more general trends, was an increase of external funding within the department which affected who could be hired. Both of these trends led the department towards more internationalization. In addition, member status in the larger research community was seen to be prioritized over member status at the department level, leading to an accompanying expectation of the working language as English, an expectation which could affect local efforts made to preserve the use of Danish in research areas.

The trends overviewed here were not directly related to the adoption or rejection of the case decisions. However, these trends were indirectly related, especially, but not only, to the extent that they influenced how teaching staff viewed the role of Danish and English within the case field, and, by extension, in the case department. Understanding these larger trends clarified how future policy related to language use and language of instruction might be received more generally.

8.2.1 Expectations of Researcher Mobility

The obvious reason why the case department was international was the presence of international (that is, non-Danish) staff. Equally obvious is that international staff were in Denmark because they had moved there. In other words, their presence was a result of researcher mobility. As shown in the literature on researcher mobility (e.g., Jacob & Meek, 2013; Musselin, 2004), career structures in academia, particularly but not only in the

sciences, are characterized by such mobility. In the case department, researcher mobility is seen in the profiles of interviewed temporary staff who had moved outside their countries of origin to Denmark to take their current jobs; of the five, three of them had moved directly to DU from their PhD institutions, and by the time of the second interview, three of them had either left for a different position outside of Denmark or had secured such a position to start in the near future.

Not all staff were equally mobile though. Of the Danish permanent teaching staff interviewed, all had been abroad at least for short-term visiting positions. Of the ten, however, only Christoffer and Jesper had worked extensively outside of Danish institutions, each of them having spent at least a decade of their early academic career outside of Denmark, with Christoffer also having gotten his PhD outside the country. This is to say that mobility at the postdoc level was high for my interviewees, but the permanent staff had been much more geographically fixed in their careers. This fits in with data on researcher mobility which shows that researcher mobility has been increasing over time, in particular at the postdoc level (Jacob & Meek, 2013; Musselin, 2004), leading younger researchers to move around with older researchers not having done so (Cañibano et al., 2011). It also suggests an extra dimension to the distinction between member and participant in the department; along with the effect of employment in time-limited or permanent positions or level of Danish language proficiency, participant status was characterized by movement.

Mobility in the field had become normalized to the point where not working at different universities at different points in a career was considered negatively by some interviewees. Rather it was expected that in order to be a part of the larger community of researchers in the field, early career researchers would have to move around. This position is exemplified by PhD student Simon's assertion that "you don't want people to spend their entire academic life in one institution". Kjeld, a member of permanent staff, had a similar

idea that “the world is becoming more and more international, so if you are a Dane […], if you want to teach at a university, you will most likely end up in […] some other place in Europe, not your own country”.

It is possible to trace demands for mobility along the career path, from PhD student to postdoc and onwards towards more permanent positions at the associate professor or full professor levels. The first stage where mobility was discussed by interviewees was at the PhD level. Whether or not students could continue into PhD studies at an institution where they had done their undergraduate and master’s level studies was not always clear. Andreas, a member of permanent staff, said, "It’s sort of a rule that you shouldn’t take your own students as PhD students, you should send them away and then eventually take them when they come back, are PhDs or even higher, are at associate professor level." This would result in a department with few local students taking PhD’s. Another member of permanent staff, Jesper, had a different opinion: “we have a lot of foreign PhD students, actually it’s somewhat of a mystery to us why we don’t have more Danish PhD students, that’s something we don’t really understand”. When asked if this was because they were applying, but were not the most qualified for the PhD positions, or if they were not applying, he said, “No, they’re not applying”. This indicated that the department was trying to attract more local PhD students, which might mean that the department would be more willing to keep people from *kandidat* level to PhD, and then expect to send them somewhere else only after this point, except that they were not being given the opportunity to do so because of a lack of local applicants.

As stated above, most of the permanent staff interviewed had been employed by DU (and based at DU, apart from short-term visiting positions) since the PhD level and in some cases had been at the department even earlier, as bachelor’s or master’s level students. In contrast, the temporary staff operated under more recent expectations within the field to not

stay in one place. Postdocs especially were expected to be mobile and it was at the transition from PhD to postdoc that demands for mobility became especially salient. Simon, who at the time of the second interview was a few months away from completing his PhD, was confronted with this as he was considering his next career steps, saying "if I was going to take a postdoc, it could not be at this university because I would not get it, because preferentially you should do your PhD and a postdoc at different institutions". Here it can be seen that this PhD student took it as given that he would need to move away if he was to continue in the same field: the idea of staying at DU at all was not even a possibility.

To sum up, it was seen as perhaps possible to do a PhD at the same institution where you did your undergraduate and/or master's level work, but after the PhD, you were expected to move to another institution. This mobility was expected to continue until a more permanent position was secured, at which point, you could remain in one institution primarily, with the exception of guest positions for short periods of time. When applied to the case department, the end result of these differing expectations is illustrated by postdoc Maarten's description of the composition of the department:

> Maarten: Well there are quite a few Danish PhD students, but there aren't that many Danish postdocs, mostly foreigners.
>
> Kim: O.K., and then when you move up in the ranks beyond that?
>
> Maarten: Then, well then there are more Danes again.

Maarten indicated that this set-up was mirrored in his previous experience in a Dutch university, with the PhD level and below, and then again above the postdoc level, being mainly Dutch, with foreigners concentrated at the postdoc level. When asked why he thought that might be, he responded:

> Well, I guess that, well in [this field] you, I mean it's really desirable to go abroad for some time, but in the end, many people just want to return to their roots I guess, so if you come from Denmark, it will be nice if you can get that position in Denmark, so you really look for that. But as a postdoc it's not that important yet because that's only for a few years anyway, so then it's fine to be abroad.

This is entirely in keeping with Musselin (2004), who showed that postdocs often are mobile in the hopes of being more qualified for jobs in the home country later in their career. The matter-of-factness of Maarten's description indicates that the diversity experienced by the department is the new norm in the field, rather than a temporary change in diversity levels. It also shows that the question of how to use language in a way that is inclusive to temporary staff who do arrive without Danish will continue to be a salient one, given that internationally mobile staff, coming in to the department in temporary positions and not staying long enough to carry out work functions (in particular teaching) in Danish, is something that would continue for the foreseeable future.

Not only was international mobility seen as normal, it was also seen as beneficial, both to the individual researcher and to individual research departments in the field. In response to a question about why he advocated for researchers moving abroad as part of their career progression, permanent staff member Christoffer gave the following arguments:

> Christoffer: Well, as I said before, the [research] community is very small in Denmark, when you start becoming a researcher you will specialize, right, and then we're talking about then a group of people […] that do the same as what you're doing […] …if you stay in Denmark, you will only see the point of view of these few. […]
> Kim: So you're seeing new points of view and new areas of….

> Christoffer: And you just see different ways of attacking […] problems, and just different ways of, styles of working. If you stay here, you will just see only one way to work in a group, in a small group. […] They may be very internationally minded, but I think if they are, they should send you out.

In this example, Christoffer explained mobility as a matter of expanding the researcher's toolkit, of learning to approach problems in the field from different angles. It was thus a way of ensuring a diversity of approaches within a local department; staying in the same place with the same colleagues would mean stagnancy. This reasoning also agrees with literature in this area, which takes cross-European networking as a key driver for researchers to move around (Jacob & Meek, 2013). For Christoffer, the value of such networking is the opportunity it gives to expand one's academic and scientific viewpoints.

However, while mobility was expected from early-career researchers, this expectation of mobility did not work in the same way for researchers at higher career levels; permanent staff were by definition not mobile. That being said, for those with permanent positions, there was also the possibility of taking visiting guest positions periodically as a type of later career mobility. Christoffer, as part of advocating for researcher mobility more generally, indicated that permanent staff should also be encouraged to go abroad on such shorter stays, as part of the sabbatical system:

> I also think that there should be, I mean we have some kind of sabbatical system, that every three years we have one semester off or something like that. [If you go] abroad, you get that semester off teaching; if you do not go abroad, well then you just go on teaching the same load.

However, it was expected that, aside from these short-term visits, permanent staff would stay in the place which has made them permanent. According to Andreas:

> We are still at that point where we don't have many foreigners as permanent staff, but that could change, probably will change. I mean one of the main reasons we do not is because, I mean you have to get rid of the Danish staff before you can hire somebody else.

So far, the department could be characterized as mobile at lower career levels, in particular for postdocs, but as of yet not as mobile for permanent staff. This is in part exemplified by Andreas's statement, that in order to have a more international (and thus more mobile) staff, the Danes in permanent positions first needed to leave. Over time, as staff at lower levels went through the expected mobility process, and as older staff who had not been mobile to the same extent left, then this department composition "probably [would] change".

8.2.2 Changing Expectations of Funding

In discussing the mobility which characterizes the case department field, it is also necessary to discuss how research and researchers were funded in the case department. Of particular importance for the department is external funding, which in recent years had been on the increase. This increase in external funding had been accompanied by an increase in the hiring of non-Danish postdocs, in keeping with the higher mobility expectation on researchers at this level as discussed in the previous section. Permanent staff member Mads explains:

> I think it's a general tendency to travel more, and also the department now has many grants attracting people from everywhere, and a lot of foreign postdocs, I mean, apply, with hundreds of PhD's every time, so it's a department with a good reputation and this makes, I mean everybody wants to study here, but well come and visit at the postdoc level and PhD level.

This implies that not all research institutions had the same level of internationalization, but that DU was in a position to attract international staff because of its reputation. Mads contrasted this with conditions when he had been a student in the department, at which point

> It was not common to have some external funding, […] I mean only the faculty of the university would pay PhD stipends, and then there would be a few from the national research council, but now I mean you can have all kinds of funding.

This change towards increased external funding as a revenue source for the department had been evident within the previous few years, as described by Christoffer: "we're just talking about 4, years ago, maybe, and what has happened recently is, and it's a funding issue, we've had lots of external funding, we've hired postdocs, we use these postdocs to teach…". The same time frame was described by Jeppe, a member of permanent staff: "within the latest 5 years it has become very dramatic, maybe also because this department has acquired a lot of resources from external funding that allowed us to hire PhD students from all over the world."

At least two of the interviewed postdocs were at DU because of this funding. Fernanda, a postdoc, had been following her supervisor to different locations, and described

her situation as “I have my own grant, so I just take it where I want.” In contrast to Fernanda’s individual external grant, postdoc Marco was part of a research group operating with external funding. He said that "in our research group, it’s just, there’s this big grant, and it’s really important to attract international people."

The types of projects which received external funding were those which would favor the hiring of temporary staff rather than permanent. This along with mobility expectations in the field further explains why diversification in staff at the postdoc level had not yet led to more diversification at the permanent staff level. It made sense to assume that openings for permanent staff would happen in the future. When it happened, mobility in the field might make it hard to hire Danes, while the need for Danish competency may make it hard to hire non-Danish speaking foreign staff. This is described by Andreas:

> People tend to stay here when they are hired, so a lot of us are getting older and that of course means also that we get room for new people, but it is becoming a concern […] that we need to make sure we have enough staff that actually teach in Danish, […], and that of course they also take into consideration when they hire new staff so they cannot just hire foreigners.

At the same time, job postings for permanent staff found on the department homepage during the course of this study were all written in English, and did not mention Danish proficiency or a requirement to gain it, in the job qualifications.

Another possibility which happened at the department was that permanent staff in the department were able to secure grants which enabled them to run projects with postdoctoral and PhD staff working for them, something which led to hiring only for temporary positions.

Because of research mobility and external funding, the case department seemed assured a continuous presence of research staff who would be unable to achieve full member status for those department situations taking place in Danish, at least at the start of their stay, and who, in most cases, would not be able to teach in Danish, potentially for any of their stay. This had consequences for how the department functioned, both in everyday working situations and in course and program planning in the department. In particular, differing expectations at the department and in the larger research community would seem to affect how staff oriented to language use, as will be discussed in the following section.

8.2.3 Expectations of English

As shown in Chapter 5, Danish language ability was an advantage at a local level in the case department, as interlinked with member status, and possibly afforded a change in status to otherwise qualified temporary staff (such as Fernanda) who wanted to stay at the department on a longer-term basis. At the same time, as shown in chapter 6, a Danish speaking student going through a course of studies in the case department and then entering into research in the field would find that the role of Danish as a language of the field would become progressively narrowed, with a corresponding increase in the use and perceived importance of English. Along with the change from Danish to English along a career path was a difference in status of Danish and English at the local and trans-local level. In the wider research community, Danish unsurprisingly did not have the same linguistic capital. Rather, English became the language of communication, for publications and collaborations.

In terms of publications, Simon, a PhD student gave the following explanation for the use of English:

> Once you get past a certain level, everybody who actually speaks Danish doesn't do their research in Danish, because you don't get much of an audience if you write in Danish […]. Really if you want your stuff to be read, if you want to communicate with people, you're going to do it in English, cause that's pretty much the main research language these days.

In other words, the goal was to have a wider audience, and the audience would be wider through the use of English than of Danish. Another driver of the use of English were research partnerships which were increasingly international, leading to more work being done in English as a lingua franca. Permanent staff member Mads, for example, spoke of using English to collaborate with a foreign colleague:

> Mads: In [this field] I believe that the general language is English, and [with] a collaborator from Cyprus, I mean we can, what should we talk, if we couldn't talk English?
> Kim: O.K., or you could learn Cypriot Greek or Turkish or, yeah, but it might take a little bit more time….
> Mads: Oh, yes, no that would be ridiculous, I mean because both of us can speak English.

For Mads, and for the other interviewees, the idea that a language other than English could be used as a lingua franca indeed seemed "ridiculous". English was seen as the only game in town, as shown by this excerpt from Christoffer, a member of permanent staff:

> You cannot expect everybody to speak French, you cannot expect everybody to speak German, but you do expect everybody to speak English. In [this field], that's it. We expect everybody from the Chinese all across the world, that we can understand in English. So English has become the language. Maybe it will be replaced by something else in a hundred years when the world changes, but right now it's English, and you cannot have a career as a researcher without [having English].

The expectation of English as the language of wider communication in the field was not directly in conflict with expectations of language use within the case department; it was expected that everyone in the department also would be able to function in English. However, for temporary staff who were in the case department temporarily as early career researchers who would soon move elsewhere, the expectation of English as the only possible language in which to communicate indirectly served to deprioritize Danish language learning and Danish language use even more.

8.3 Conclusions

This chapter has served to provide answers to the remaining research questions. How did teaching staff expectations in relation to the case decisions affect how the decisions were implemented in the department? From the data gathered, it would seem that the decisions had already been adopted at the time of the second interview. That being said, they were not always being followed to the letter. This was in part due to uncertainty around the specific mandate themselves, and in part because of the willingness of department staff to interpret the rules for their own individual situations, in keeping with how the department made decisions previously.

This information also served to answer the questions, how did department teaching staff use English and Danish in work situations, and how did teaching staff and students use English and Danish in classroom situations, after the implementation of the case decisions? Here again, life at the department did not change radically as a result of the decisions. Non-Danish speakers were still able to carry out their work duties, including teaching, in English. Danish speakers might have more teaching in Danish, but this was not viewed as a problem in itself.

This chapter has examined the possible longer-term effects of the case decisions on the case department. In doing this, attention has been given to both departmental factors, including how affected staff viewed potential changes in instruction, but also to larger trends within the case field. The role of mobility, changing patterns of funding, and in particular the growing expectation that university functions (including teaching) would be available in English served to constrain the ability of departments to maintain course offerings in Danish. This would have implications for future decisions such as the case decisions, which relate to language use both in and out of the classroom.

Chapter 9:
Conclusions

The goal of this study has been to investigate a set of language policy decisions as they unfolded over time, in particular examining the effects that the process had on teaching staff in one affected department. The goal has been two-fold. On the one hand, the study focused on language use: how individual teaching staff at one department within one science faculty in one Danish university made use of Danish and English in their working and teaching lives. A second emphasis was on the ways in which language policy decisions unfolded through time, with data collected at multiple points of the decision and implementation process. The research questions at the heart of this study arose from both focal points, asking, on the one hand, how language choices were made in the case department both before and after implementation of the case decisions, as well as on how decisions were made, or could be made, at department and faculty levels, and on how teacher perceptions and orientations to the policies and to the language needs of the classroom affected how the decisions were received.

This chapter starts by overviewing the study as a whole. In particular, this will involve revisiting the research questions and showing how the relevant literature, theories, and research design shaped how the project was carried out. After this, a summary will be given of the research findings, followed by a synthesis of the findings. The synthesis overviews what has been learned from the study in relation to EMI, in relation to Danish medium instruction, in terms of policies and practices in the case department and faculty, and finally in terms of the methodology used, in particular what was added by combining NA and InnT. Implications of the study for department leadership, teaching staff, and policy makers are

given next, followed by recommendations for further research. The chapter ends with brief concluding remarks.

9.1 Research Questions

This qualitative study set out to investigate language policy related to language of instruction, as found in one department and one faculty in a Danish university. In particular, one set of language policy decisions affecting language of instruction were examined over time, with the primary aim of answering the following research questions:

1) How did department teaching staff report using English and Danish in work situations outside of the classroom before and after the implementation of the case decisions?
2) How did teaching staff and students report using English and Danish in classroom situations before and after the implementation of the case decisions?
3) How were decisions related to language of instruction made at the faculty level, and at the department level, and how did the two levels influence each other?
4) How did teaching staff expectations with respect to the case decisions relate to how the decisions were implemented in the department?

This focus of this study, and its accompanying research questions place this research into the areas of language policy, in particular as it relates to language of instruction issues (including EMI). In seeking to answer these questions, other literatures, on internationalization and researcher mobility, as well as on more locally-salient questions of

domain loss and parallel language use became relevant, and the literatures from these areas was used to contextualize the work carried out.

Two theoretical frameworks were used for this project. InnT allowed for conceptualizing the decision process as composed of different stages, where the environment in earlier stages influenced the ultimate acceptance or rejection of the decisions (either in part or in whole). At each stage of the InnT's hybrid model, a NA approach was used to fully understand the workings of the department. The combination of these two frameworks allowed for an in-depth understanding of how the case decisions unfolded over time, in a way which would not have been possible in the same way without both frameworks. The research was designed around this, in particular ensuring that interview data was collected at key points in the decision process, both before and after the implementation of the decisions, which were then complemented with observation and document data.

9.2 Summary of Findings

This section overviews the findings in relation to the research questions which guided the study. Each of the findings chapters (5-8) has focused on a different aspect of the decision-making process under investigation, organized around the hybrid model proposed by InnT (Henrichsen, 1989).

Chapters 5 and 6 set up a baseline of language use in the department, both outside the classroom and within it. This baseline was then described using the "antecedents" part of the hybrid model. In particular, chapter 5 investigated how department teaching staff used both Danish and English in work situations outside of the classroom. It also served to answer the first part of the first research question, by showing how department teaching staff used English and Danish in work situations outside of the classroom before the implementation of

the case decisions. It was shown that interaction order and discourses in place combined to influence what language was used in meetings, e-mails, and the lunchroom. In addition, a picture emerged where employment in permanent or temporary positions combined with Danish language proficiency led individual employees to have either member or participant status in the department. This member status could in certain instances take precedence in language choice, for example, when a meeting for permanent staff members would be held in Danish despite the presence of non-Danish speaking (or less-proficient Danish speaking) members of permanent staff. An additional factor which emerged which influenced language orientation was a discourse of importance. This could be seen for example in how non-Danish speaking temporary staff members oriented to situations which occurred in Danish, which were then deemed to be unimportant.

Chapter 6 switched focus to language use by teaching staff and students inside the classroom, and also served to answer the first part of the second research question, by showing how department teaching staff used English and Danish in classroom situations before the implementation of the case decisions. Department staff members perceived their own language use and language choice inside the classroom through a discourse of flexibility, which enabled them to switch language where appropriate. At the same time, it was shown that the same factors of interaction order and discourses in place which affected language choice in other departmental work situations also applied inside the classroom. In contrast to other work situations where Danish proficiency conveyed member status, in the classroom, a lack of Danish proficiency among teaching staff who would traditionally be expected to teach primarily at the undergraduate level had led to a subversion of who would normally teach courses at particular levels. Students in the department as well would be moving towards a greater use of English over a typical degree progression, where at each stage (from first-year undergraduate, up through post-graduate studies for those students who chose to continue this

far) the use of Danish become progressively limited, with the use of English correspondingly expanded.

The baseline, or antecedents, having been established, chapter 7 then overviewed the process part of the hybrid model, which dealt with the introduction and implementation of the case decisions. It also answered the third research question, investigating how the department and the faculty made decisions, and how the two levels influenced each other. In terms of how decisions were made at the department level, though the department viewed its own language use as flexible, three different approaches towards language use were present. These approaches - the preservation approach, the transition approach, and the parallel approach - tended to emphasize English on a general level, with Danish mostly limited to specific groups (particularly permanent staff holding member status in the department), or for certain functions. With the exception of the preservation approach, these were bottom-up ways of directing language use. The perception of flexibility and the preponderance of bottom-up approaches to language policy set the department in perceived opposition to the faculty, who operated in a more hierarchical manner, also in how it introduced the case decisions. This distinction between bottom-up and top-down approaches led departmental employees to react negatively, in particular to those areas where faculty mandates were seen as contrary to existing practice in the department, particularly in relation to undergraduate instruction in Danish, as well as to how students would be evaluated.

Chapter 8 was divided into two parts. The first considered the longer-term adoption or rejection of the case decisions and was organized using the consequences section of the hybrid model. The second part moved away from a focus on the department and faculty to take a wider view of the academic field represented by the case department. The first part of the chapter also served to answer the fourth research question, which asked how teaching staff expectations of the case decisions related to how those decisions were ultimately

implemented. Here, it was shown that to the extent that the case decisions did not take into account existing practices in the department, or of student composition, particularly at the undergraduate level, department teaching staff felt free to adopt parts of the decisions while at the same time adapting or ignoring those parts of the decisions which were not deemed appropriate in particular situations in the classroom or exam room. Because of this, it was shown that actual language use after the implementation of the case decisions was not markedly different than that found before implementation, which answers the second half of the first two research questions. The second part of chapter 8 then expanded focus from the case department outwards towards the case field, to highlight trends which would continue to affect language use in the case department, in ways which would affect how other decisions related to language of instruction might be received in the future.

9.3. Discussion of Findings

The previous section served to answer the research questions using the findings as presented in chapters 5 through 8. This section puts the findings into perspective, and situates them them within the broader fields of language policy and of EMI. It also revisits the methodologies used in the study. The findings are categorized into three themes: language policy and planning in higher education, EMI and ELF in higher education, and finally a consideration of the use of NA and InnT in this study.

9.3.1 Language Planning and Policy in the Department and Faculty

This study investigated the three main components of LPP (as defined by Spolsky, 2012); (1) language management (which I refer to as planning) at the faculty level, (2) the

language practices of teaching staff in the department who were affected by language management decisions, and (3) the language beliefs that influenced both the practices and also how the planning was received. The findings showed that in the case department, language policy directives (in the form of the case decisions) were not in agreement with existing practices, which led to controversy within the department. The beliefs surrounding existing practices (for example a belief that the language of classroom instruction should be changeable when desired or required) also complicated the acceptance of the case decisions.

These beliefs created situations where stakeholders were in disagreement with top-down actors, which means there were occurrences of micro language planning as a form of resistance (Baldauf, 2006). This can be seen, for example, when an undergraduate course was taught in English rather than in Danish to accommodate a foreign student, which would have been accepted practice before the decisions, but was against the policy after. By teaching in English anyway, the teacher was using de facto practices in a way that becomes resistance to the official policy.

Other types of planning were also relevant to the case situation: status planning, acquisition planning, prestige planning, and discourse planning. Within this category, types of planning which were inherent in the case decisions were not the same as the actual types of planning found in the department. In particular, the case decisions focused purely on status planning (Kloss, 1969), in the sense that they made Danish official in the undergraduate classroom, and English in the graduate classroom. There was not explicit focus on acquisition planning (Cooper, 1989) in order to to ensure staff who could teach in each of the languages (though there was some training for teaching staff in the faculty, and also through the different departments).

At the department level, there was focus on acquisition training for Danish (and also some for English, though this has not been a focus of the present study). However, this

training was not geared primarily at gaining teaching resources in Danish, but more for ensuring that foreign staff would maintain their network in Denmark even after moving to research and teach somewhere else.

One type of planning was not explicitly taking place at either faculty or department level, but would have been relevant at both, namely prestige planning (Haarman, 1990). In the department, English had high prestige for all staff, while Danish had some prestige for already Danish speaking staff. The training provided for non-Danish speakers could be seen as a form of prestige planning, but was not set up to affect the prestige of Danish in work situations such as teaching or lecturing.

The relative high prestige of English, and the lower prestige of Danish in work situations can be seen through the discourses surrounding the two languages. English is seen as something that everybody has, and that everybody will naturally use for collaboration and networking in the field. Danish is seen as locally important, but both hard to learn and not necessary for non-Danes. More explicit prestige planning could affect these discourses surrounding Danish and English, which would be a type of discourse planning (Lo Bianco, 2005).

Additional findings related to the type of English which was mandated with the case decisions, and which was seen as acceptable in the context of department practice. In contrast to Finland (Saarinen and Nikula, 2013) where policies appear to favor inner circle norms, the case decisions do not actively specify type or variety of English. Additionally, teaching staff in the department refer to their own use of "broken English", implying that they do not orient to native speaker norms either. In this, it can be said that calls within the area of ELF to move away from such norms (e.g. Jenkins, 2011; Jenkins, Cogo, & Dewey, 2011) have already been heeded. This is in contrast to the view of Danish, for which department staff do appear to relate to native speaker norms.

Teaching staff also appeared to view English as an obvious choice for lingua franca communication not just within the department, but also with the case field, and the sciences more generally. That is to say, they view English less as a hegemonic force (Phillipson, 2006, 2015) than as a naturally emerging language of the sciences (a view in keeping with Crystal, 2003). This could be a factor explaining department staff reluctance to move away from EMI instruction.

Finally, there are findings related to parallel language use within DU. Thøgersen (2010) states that the goal of the term has shifted over time, going from a means of protecting local languages such as Danish, to ensuring the availability of English. The faculty decisions could be seen as a means of protecting Danish by ensuring its continued presence in a higher education setting, which is in keeping with older views of parallel language use. Department teaching staff appear to have a more flexible view of the concept which also favors the availability of English where needed, with Danish possible whenever English is not needed.

9.3.2 EMI and Danish-medium Instruction in the Department

The findings of the present study are aligned with current discussions regarding implementation of EMI in HE. Communication in the case department to a large extent followed what Fabricius, Mortensen, and Haberland (2016) refer to the "paradox of internationalization and linguistic pluralism." They claim that a more international community with more diverse linguistic backgrounds leads to a community with fewer languages in common used to communicate. The department staff as a whole were conversant in a number of languages, but the languages common enough for everyday use boiled down to Danish and English.

The need for English in the department was new enough that older members of staff could recall when EMI instruction had entered the department. However, EMI instruction in the case department, and more broadly in Denmark and Northern Europe, has been used much longer when compared to other areas of Europe (Hultgren, Jensen, & Dimova, 2015). The switch to English was at that time seen as problematic (just as countries now introducing EMI in higher education in Southern Europe are seeing the move as controversial, e.g. Salomone, 2015), yet since then had become an accepted practice.

Since the switch to English had been seen as controversial when it first happened, it was expected that moving back to Danish as medium of instruction would be well received. However, this has proved to not be the case. One explanation relates to the connection of EMI to Fabricius et al.'s (2016) paradox. EMI, once established, is used to attract mobile students and staff. The mobile students and staff, once present, increase the need for EMI. At the staff level, this is magnified by the need for researchers to be mobile, in particular at the post-doc level (Jacob & Meek, 2013) with similar mobility being found in students (Coleman, 2006). This leads to a continuously replenishing population who are not able to communicate in Danish, which then gives logistical difficulties in making courses and programs non-EMI.

This description of the case study department with its revolving doors of international stakeholders has implications for the EMI literature. Much of this literature seems to follow the model set out by Kling Soren (2013), in which the EMI classroom is fronted by a local teacher teaching in an L2 to a combination of local students and international students who are (apart from L1 English students) learning in an L2. In the case department, however, the teacher of the EMI course may not be local, though is probably (though not necessarily) teaching in English as an L2.

The use of Danish in the classroom was an area of greater complexity than I expected in the beginning of the study. Kling Soren (2013) refers to a traditional classroom (set in contrast to the EMI classroom) of a local teacher teaching local students. This often happens. However, a growing factor in the case department is non-Danish L1 students who take Danish-medium courses in the department. In addition, while many temporary teaching staff do not gain enough Danish proficiency to teach in Danish, there are non-Danish L1 speakers who teach in Danish in the department. I was not able to gather information about this group's experiences with teaching in Danish as an L2, but such information is sorely lacking (apart from Olsen, 2012).

9.3.3 Methodology: Nexus Analysis and Innovation Theory in LPP Research

Along with findings about language use and language policy, my study has implications related to the theoretical frameworks that were used. In particular, as NA and InnT had not been combined previous to this study, this section will discuss the use of the two frameworks together.

I originally chose to combine the two frameworks because of what I perceived as the complementarity of scope of NA and InnT. In practice, this complementarity was a distinct advantage. InnT focused my attention on the historical aspects of the case situation at different points in the implementation process. It also served to contextualize the analysis given by NA, which by itself can appear fuzzy to non-users of the method (such as policy makers), thus making the whole study more accessible. Unlike NA, which has been used to research language policy (e.g. Lane, 2010 with language transmission and language policy in a Kven speaking community; Kvällkvist & Hult, 2016 with an analysis of Swedish university

language policy), InnT has not been used for this purpose, and yet its use strengthens the analysis made with NA alone.

In analyzing data in the different time periods, NA equally allowed for focus on specific elements of the situation; such as how interviewed staff oriented to Danish and English in the department (discourses in place) and how they made language choices (primarily though not only based on interaction order). This enabled me to gain a deeper understanding of the case situation than would have been possible with InnT alone.

In addition to the advantages for organizing and analyzing data, using NA and InnT together have implications for tranferability and validity. Using NA and InnT together also allows researchers and other interested stakeholders to better evaluate the transferability of this research to other situations. For example, in relation to the present study, researchers in potentially comparable situations can take into account factors both from NA (such as the historical body of the participants, the interaction order, and the discourses circulating in the new setting), and InnT (information about different points in the innovation process) in order to assess whether the findings gained in this study might be transferable to theirs. They might see if the interaction order present at different levels (for instance between department and faculty levels) is comparable between the situation described here and the situation they wish to investigate.

Combining NA and InnT also has implications for validity. In particular, validity is enhanced through methodological triangulation. As Dörnyei (2007, p. 61) states, "if we come to the same conclusion about a phenomenon using a different data collection/analysis method […], the convergence offers strong validity evidence". In this study, using both NA and InnT enhanced validity in the same way as was done by collecting different kinds of data (interviews, observations, and written documents). Getting the same interpretation from two different frameworks also indicates that the context which has been collected is sufficient. In

this way, it helps to solve Gee's (2011) frame problem, of how much context is enough to know that one's interpretation is valid.

9.4 Implications

Three implications arose from the findings of this study, each directed at a different stakeholder group: departmental leadership, departmental teaching staff, and policy-makers.

The first area with implications is grounded in the fact that university departments such as the case department are being pushed towards ever-greater internationalization. This could be seen in the department itself, which had a growing number of non-Danish staff, in particular (but not only) in time-limited positions such as postdocs. It is also seen in the work of the department, with more research being carried out through international networks, and disseminated through international journals. Because of this, research, dissemination, and increasingly also teaching, took place through the medium of English, which had the concomitant effect of limiting the use of local languages such as Danish. In terms of language use, growing internationalization such as in the case department has been shown to challenge the use of local languages such as Danish, and to cause push-back towards local languages in areas where the local language is not given protected space. At the same time, the creation of such protected space in the department had the effect of preserving the use of the local language, as could be seen in communication primarily aimed at permanent staff in the case department. This gives the message to department leadership that active efforts made on behalf of preserving local languages can be productive. It also has language training implications for staff in local languages, so that such preservation efforts can continue to be effective, as well as in English to afford participation in larger research communities.

In addition to the complexities of university departments, the university classrooms, both

at graduate level but particularly at undergraduate level, are shown in this study to be more complicated than have been traditionally understood and as represented, for example in the Kling Soren (2013, p. 5) model. This is because of exchange students at the undergraduate and graduate level who are taking EMI courses, and because of teachers teaching in English as a non-L1, both groups who have been the object of study previously (in a Danish context, e.g., Kiil, 2011; Tange, 2010; Westbrook & Henriksen, 2011). It is also because of foreign students taking full degrees, at the undergraduate level in local languages, and teachers teaching in Danish as a non-L1, both groups which have not had the same degree of research attention given to it (which the exception of, for example, Olsen, 2012). The implication of this classroom complexity is support for Airey's (2012) assertion that "all university courses involve CLIL [where language and content are explicitly taught together] *even in monolingual settings*" (p. 64, italics in original). This in turn implies a need for teachers at both undergraduate and graduate levels, in both EMI and non-EMI classroom settings, to ensure language support for the variety of students whom they teach.

The final implications relate to how language policy functions once the first two implication areas have been taken into account. Specifically, the findings of this study cast doubt on the efficacy of top-down decision making which does not take into account the complexities of the departments that will be affected by them. Equally problematic is policy related to language of instruction which does not take into account the actual composition (in terms of student background, including language proficiencies) of the classroom. To the extent that the case department reaction is generalizable, top-down decisions which do not adequately reflect the reality in affected departments or in the classroom will not be closely adhered to. Policy-makers are thus encouraged to investigate the needs of those who would be affected by language policy decisions.

9.5 Suggestions for Future Research

This project was carried out in a specific local setting in Northern Europe, and focused on a department within a science faculty over a limited time period. This has constrained the type of research that could be carried out, and the questions that could be fruitfully asked. The following suggestions for research arise from this study, yet extend it in different directions.

Domain: Researchers in the sciences are often seen as having a different view towards the growth of English than do researchers in the humanities or social sciences (Kuteeva & Airey, 2013). Studies of departments in other domain areas could shed light on how these differing domain-influenced views might influence language policy or language use both in and out of the classroom.

Region: This study is firmly grounded in a Danish setting, and yet Northern Europe (including Denmark) and Southern Europe are at different stages in terms of their use of and orientation to EMI (Hultgren, Jensen, & Dimova, 2015). Space exists for comparative work into how researchers in different regions orient to language policy, and to moves both towards and away from English in the classroom.

Local languages as medium of instruction: As indicated earlier, while EMI research is plentiful, the same is not true for research related to instruction in local languages. Olsen, 2012, investigating a Danish-medium instruction setting, is one exception to this, and finds some interesting similarities with the EMI literature. How this teaching in local languages (other than English) as a non-L1 affects teachers, students, and policy is an area which is in need of research attention.

Researcher mobility and EMI: EMI literature has focused primarily on teachers who are local to a given university setting teaching in EMI programs. In the case department, and other departments like it, EMI instruction is given by both local teachers and mobile

researchers. Research could focus on how these teachers orient to EMI, and how they juggle both English and the local language.

Innovation Theory: InnT has been little used in the field of language policy, and yet it offers interesting possibilities to study language policy decisions as they occur over time, either using archival material, or as an on-going analysis of current decisions.

Nexus Analysis with Innovation Theory: NA has been used to investigate language policy (e.g. Hult, 2010a; Källkvist & Hult, 2016). However, it had not until this study been used in connection with InnT. Research applying these two frameworks together in different policy settings would give insight to language policy making as it happens on the ground.

Gender: The participants in this study were almost all male. And yet, research has shown that gender affects the ability or lack of ability to be mobile (e.g. Jöns, 2011; Ackers, 2008, 2010), which in turn has effects on language use in academic departments. As such, how gender intersects with language in an international university setting is a fruitful area for future investigation.

9.6 Concluding Remarks

As shown from the list above, the study here lays the groundwork for a variety of future research initiatives. The undergraduate decision to move away from English-medium instruction towards greater use of the local language, Danish, provides a counterpoint to the large (and undoubtedly growing) body of existing research related to the effects of switching from local languages to English as medium of instruction in universities, especially in Northern European contexts (e.g., Klaassen, 2001; Hellekjær, 2010; Söderlundh, 2010). At the same time, the strengthening (in the sense of making it more consistently a requirement) of English-medium instruction at the graduate (*kandidat* or master's) level can be compared

to and contrasted with existing research findings on English-medium instruction. Taken globally, the decisions shed light on issues related to language policy decisions and language of instruction at universities more generally.

As well, the decisions are interesting within a Danish context because they relate to attitudes in the larger Danish society. At the same time, the questions raised by the decisions are not only of relevance in the Danish context; there are settings in many parts of the world, especially but not only in Europe, which are confronting similar conflicts between English and local languages in higher education. For example, trends that started earlier in Northern European university settings are beginning to take place in Southern European universities and elsewhere, meaning that what is happening in Northern Europe, including in Denmark, can provide valuable information to educational policymakers elsewhere who are interested in possible outcomes of decisions such as the ones in focus in this study.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Sample Request for Participation in Interviews

Appendix B: Sample Request to Observe Teaching

Appendix C Interview Schedule for First Round Interviews

Appendix D Interview Schedule for Second Round Interviews

Appendix A: Sample Request for Participation in Interviews

E-mail text, first-round interview:

Dear XX,

I'm a PhD student at the faculty of humanities at the University of Copenhagen, investigating language policy and language assessment issues […]. As part of my research, I am looking at practices in [the case department], and hope to interview several employees (randomly selected) as part of this process.

For this reason, I am hoping to interview you. The interview would take around 30-40 minutes, would take place in your office (or another location of your choice if you would prefer), and would be recorded (no video, just audio). I am available almost any time in [scheduling information]. If you can meet with me, please let me know a time (or preferably a couple of times) which would suit your schedule, and I will endeavor to confirm that with you.

I look forward to hearing from you, and hope to speak with you soon.

Best regards,

Appendix B: Sample Request to Observe Teaching

E-mail text for those not previously interviewed:

Dear XX,

I am writing in connection with a PhD project I am conducting, looking at language use and language policy at [DU, and in the case department].

As part of this, I am looking to observe a selection of classes (at undergraduate and master's levels, taught in Danish and English) between now and the winter holidays. In particular, I am hoping to observe the […] course which you are currently teaching. I am writing to find out if it is possible for me to sit in on [specific dates]. In my observation, I will be looking at interaction and language use, not at the teaching or the content being taught. I will be taking notes, using a structured observation form, and possibly audio-recording the lecture.

I look forward to hearing from you, and hope to be able to visit your classroom. Please don't hesitate to write with any questions you may have.

Best regards,

Appendix C: Sample Interview Questions for First Round Interviews

Sample core questions taken from first-round interviews

Background information:

- First I want to hear about what you actually do in this department, so what is your position, and then how long have you been at the department, and at the university?
- In terms of your language background, obviously you have English, I assume you have Danish, are there other languages that you also have?

Languages used on the job:

- What languages do you use to teach in and to research in?
- What about kind of just everyday interactions, I'm thinking things like, well let's start with meetings, I mean if you meet with people here, what, you know in department meetings or section meetings, what do you speak?
- What about the lunch room, you know, or if you meet at the coffee machine?
- What about things like e-mails, and you know if the department sends you something, um, you know, what language do they send it in?
- What about when you write e-mails to people, what do you, what languages do you use and how do you decide what to use?

Language level of students and staff in general and for teaching:

- What is the sort of English level and Danish level of of your colleagues, would you say?
- How are the students in English?
- Who is assigned what courses, I mean who gets to teach, for example Danish courses or English courses?

Parallel language use:

- You may know of a concept and a policy approach called parallel language use, have you heard of this term?
- When you hear the term parallel language use, in your own words, what do you think it means?

Appendix D: Sample Interview Questions for Second Round Interviews

Sample core questions/comments taken from second-round interviews

Language use on the job:

- I'm not gonna ask you of course all the background stuff that I asked last time but there may be a couple things that are similar and then I want to sort of find out what's been going on over the last year.
- What languages are you using and when are you using them […] at work?

Teaching in the previous year:

- What courses have you taught since we last spoke? What languages were these in, I mean this school year?

Any differences in language use from previous interview:

- So has your language use changed since I talked to you last year, so for example it sounds like you're doing a bit more teaching in Danish…

Wrap-up question:

- Is there anything you would like for me to have asked you, either you know, last year or now, or anything that you think is interesting or important about the department, language policy in the department, language use in the department, that I maybe haven't thought to ask you or didn't know enough to ask about?